

THE STATE OF ENGLAND
ANNO DOM. 1600
BY THOMAS WILSON

EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS AMONG THE
STATE PAPERS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace that contemporary descriptions of England depend for their historical value largely on the personalities of their authors, and the major claim of the following document for publication lies less in any exclusive information that it may contain than in the point of view from which it is written. Wilson himself was scarcely an important person, but the circumstances of his life bred in him habits of thought that make his comments on society more illuminating than those of worthier and abler men. The story of that life has been told by Professor Pollard,¹ and here the briefest of summaries must suffice. In its essence, it was simple. Born probably about 1560, Wilson started badly. His first mistake was to be the younger son of a country gentleman and thereby to inherit, not a handsome patrimony, but, to use his own vigorous if somewhat inelegant expression, "that which the catt left on the malt heape." Error followed error, and at Cambridge he spent fifteen years in the study of the civil law just at the time when that subject was losing most of its market value and when the fate of the average civilian was, again to use his own words, to "take great paines for small gaynes." Finally, even the support of the great Burleigh did not suffice to obtain for him the fellowship at Trinity Hall which he coveted; and so, in his middle thirties, we find him cast on the world to make a living by his wits. The list of posts which in the next thirty years he either filled or tried to fill—author, translator, judge, diplomatist, publisher, newspaper proprietor, politician, colonist, business agent to Robert Cecil, archivist, master of a Cambridge college—testify strongly enough to his resourcefulness; but his abilities seem scarcely to have equalled his versatility. Judged by the measure of his own desires, his success was but limited. As a diplomatist he never rose above the rank of consul in Spain; as a politician the summit of his achievement was to sit on the back benches for a few months as member for Newtown; as an archivist

¹ In the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

he was energetic and conscientious but only moderately rewarded with £30 a year ; his writings appear persistently to have remained in manuscript until our own day ; and the knighthood which he obtained in 1618 was a poor consolation for the mastership of requests which persistently eluded him. In fact, the only capacity in which he seems to have shown outstanding merit was the somewhat dubious one of a spy. His first rôle of public importance was that of foreign correspondent in Italy to Buckhurst and Cecil, his last that of companion lodged in the Tower with Raleigh for the purpose of worming incriminating evidence from the prisoner.

Nevertheless, Wilson's activities, though relatively poor in their material fruits, were rich in their spiritual results ; and although his *Description of England* was written when he was comparatively young, it already bears the marks of the type of man that he was. On the one hand, it is clearly the utterance of a member of a specific social group—that of the cadets of landed families. As such, it is significant for the lively class consciousness that it shows, particularly towards the peasantry. To Wilson it was clear that there was a definite clash of interests, and ought to be a definite social gulf, between the gentleman and the yeoman. To him the yeoman's son who apes his betters is an object of hatred and contempt ; the gentleman who marries a yeoman's daughter is a mongrel ; even the wealthy yeoman who did not presume beyond his station was socially an undesirable phenomenon by the very fact of his wealth. And his attitude is made particularly interesting by the historical sense which allows him both to see that the relations between the two classes had undergone a dual change in the preceding century, and to correlate that change with the two factors to which most modern historians would agree in attributing it—the price revolution and the revolution in the social habits of the country gentry. His elaboration of this idea is disjointed and confused, but the general trend of his argument is clear.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries prices had been low, the demand for land had been sluggish, landlords had been indifferent business men, and the peasants had obtained grants at such easy rates and for such long periods that the rise in prices inevitably brought them prosperity at the expense of the gentry. Now, thanks to the expiration of these grants and to the immeasurably more efficient standards of estate administration, the gentry were once more coming into their own. A great amount of recent research could be summed up in those words.

The fact that he spoke for a social class which, though important, seldom gave formal expression to its views is not, however, Wilson's only claim to attention. It is difficult to read his treatise without being impressed by the modernity of the point of view from which much of it is written. Then, as now, successful espionage and journalism demanded a strong dose of that realism which is normally accepted as a characteristic of modern thought, and Wilson brought to the task of describing his own country many of those gifts which made him a valued foreign correspondent to Buckhurst and Burleigh. The value of this must not, of course, be exaggerated. Neither modernity nor realism is a synonym for truth, and it is easy to show that Wilson was often inaccurate. Did space permit, it would be interesting to dissect the medley of fact and fiction that on pages 26-33 he offers as the royal budget. But in one field—that of economics—he carries his modernism to striking lengths. The difference between his uncle's savage attack on usury and his own cool, amoral, appreciation of thrift and child labour represents, not merely the difference normally to be found between two generations, but rather the gulf that separates mediæval from modern economic thought; and he clinches his claim to modernity by a remarkable use of statistics. The outstanding feature of his essay is his estimate of the number and incomes of the various sections of the upper classes. As far as the editor is aware, no similar estimate for the period has as yet been discovered. How far his figures are reliable it is difficult to say. Their very uniqueness makes anything like a general confirmation impossible. But sufficient points in them—the wealth of the merchants and lawyers, the incomes of the bishops, the relative backwardness of ecclesiastical estate management—are borne out by other evidence to suggest that all are worthy of serious, if critical, consideration.

The reason why this description was ever written is obscure, but internal evidence suggests that it may have been intended for an Italian friend or patron. Two copies of it exist, both bound up in Volume 280 of the Elizabethan Domestic State Papers. Of these, the first in the volume, here called MS. A, is a fair but inaccurate transcription of the second, here called MS. B, which is in Wilson's own hand but is incomplete (lacking pp. 26-7) and partly illegible. The text given here follows MS. A, but variant readings in MS. B have been noted. From the date on MS. B it is probable that the manuscript was actually written in 1601.

THE STATE OF ENGLAND, ANNO DOM. 1600

BY THOMAS WILSON

[1 March 1600] ¹

A [lerned and] ¹ skilfull Phisician, when he desireth to understand perfectly the state and disposition of any body, the first thing he doeth, he will feel the pulse, howe it beates, and thereby he fyndeth the force of life which it holdeth and the vigor of the human which possesseth the same. Thereupon he demandeth of the patient divers questions, howe the ² body hath bene governed ; what diet ; what order ; what exercise. That knowne, he beholdeth the outward appearance, he veiweeth the face, the body, and each external member. Thirdly he cometh to the inward and unseen partes, and of them he devyneth by dreames, delights, cogitations, and sometimes [by] ¹ phantasyes which are not alwise sure. This order must be holden in understanding a body politicke, Kingdom or Comonwealth. First wee must feele the pulse, how the State is for the mayne pointe of its essence, viz. whether it be absolute or dependant, hereditary or elective, growinge or declyninge, how and why ; [and] ¹ soe of the other ² in order the parts external and internall.

First, therefore, to follow their order lett it be knowne that this Kingdome is an absolute Imperiall Monarchy held nether of Pope, Emperour, nor any but [of] ¹ God alone, and so hath bene ever since the year of the World 2855, which was 1108 yeares before Christ. It is true [that] ¹ it was conquered by Julius Cesar and from him till Constantinus time was Tributary to the Roman

¹ MS. B.

² MS. B. :—" this."

Empire, which Constantinus, as some saye, gave it and divers others to the Pope. But after the declyning of the Romaine Empire it hath suffred 3 other Conquests which have all held [it]¹ absolutely without Tribut or superiority, the Emperor's tittle and consequently the Pope² ceasing when they were no longer able to defend it.

It is also true that after this, K. Jhon did resigne the Crowne to Pandolphus, the Pope's legate, and did receive it againe from him, to hold it of the Pope, paying yearly a certain Tribute; but that is easily answered (though it be the Pops strongest clayme) that King Jhon was but an usurper, and being distressed besides with the Barons' Warres, he was forced to doe to yt³ to have the Pope's help, but his act was never confirmd by the States of the Country and therefore frivolous. *Nam quod omnes tangit debet ab omnibus approbari.* Much more might be sayd for that point if it were requisite, as that ye Pope and Emperor have often disclaymed any tittle to this Kingdome since Constantine and John, but it shall be needles to alledg them.

It being known how this Kingdome is holde, the next and most principall that must be found by feeling the pulse is to knowe how it standeth for the point of succession, a mayne point and straghtly prohibited to Englishmen to discuss. But thus stands the case, & herein indeede the pulse beates extreemely.

There are 12 Competitors that gape for the death of that good old Princess the now Queen, the Eldest Prince in yeares and raygne throughout Europe or our knowne World.

The nerest in blood is James the Sixth, King of Scotland, as ye heire of the eldest sister of King Henry 8, Father to this Queen.

The 2^d is yoyng damesell⁴ of 18 yeares who cometh of the same lyne and by some thought more capable then he, for that she is English borne (the want whereof, if our Lawyers opinions be corant, is the cause of his exclusion). She is thought to be the lykelyest next the King of Scotland if she [cann]¹ be proved to be daughter to a bastard, as they alledg her father was.

The 3^d is the eldest sonne of the Earle of Herteford, called the Lord Beauchampe, whose mother Katheryne was daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, sone of Mary the 2^d daughter of Henry 7.

The 4th is his brother [Henry]¹ Seymor, 2^d sonn to the Earle

¹ MS. B.

² MS. B. :—"Pope's."

³ MS. B. :—"that."

⁴ In margin: "la Arabelle."

of Hertford, who thinketh he is nerest because his brother (as they say) was begotten & borne before wedlock, but the truth is they will be found both ¹ bastards and double bastards; first for that their mother was married, first to the Earl of Penbrook, and after (he living) to the Earle of Hartford, for which she after wept out her eyes in the Tower; secondly because Mary their great-grandmother, the Kings Henry 7 daughter, was married to the Duke of Suffolke when he had an other wife lyving, after she was dead, viz. the Lady Ann Mortimer.

The 5th is the Earl of Derby, who cometh of the 2^d daughter of the said Mary, but by the reason before alledged all that lyne must needs be bastards. The mother of him is yett alive, who is before him, and for jealousy comes not att the Court.

The 6th is the Earle of Huntington who, fynding all these the offspring of Henry 7 [cutt of eyther] ² by foranage, lawe or bastardy, cometh in with a tittle before Henry 7 from George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the 4 of the house of Yorke, 240 yeares since; and so meanes to revive the tittle of ye house of Yorke, and so the variance betwixt the 2 houses of Lancaster and York, which hath cost 20 hundred thousand mens' lyves and 300 yeare Civill Warr. But his grandfather, the Lord Montague, was attayned of Treason and putt to death by Henry 8, and so his heyers cutt of.

7 is the Earl of Westmerland, whose lyveth nowe with the Spaniard. He finding all these false in the haft, as he thinkes, seeketh it yett further from Elizabeth, daughter to John of Gaunt 280 yeares since, for which in the 12 of the Queen's raigne he with the Earl of Northumberland raised a Rebellion in the North and were proclaymed Traytors, and so cutt [of] ²; of their stock there are certaine gentlemen yett called Nevills of that howse.

The Earl of Northumberland is the 8th, who fetcheth itt yett further of, from Mary the 2^d daughter to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, sonn to Edmond Crowchback, who claymed to be eldest brother to Henry 3^d 328 yeares since, which Mary was married to the Lord Percy, of whome come these Earles of Northumberland. But yt were too long to tell how many treasons have cutt them of; the grandfather to this being executed for treason ye 14th yeare of this Queen's raigne, and his sonne, after restored by the Queen, practised treason, and being apprehended and prisoner in the Tower, fearing his father's fortune and to save his blood

¹ MS. B. :—" both found."

² MS. B

unspotted to his sonne, mured himse in the Towre with a pistol. His sonne, now Earl of Northumberland, hath married the Earl of Essex sister, *Et hinc illae lachrimae etc.*

Thus all these being every one neerer then other, finding meanes to cutt of each other and themselves also, they open the conceytes of forraing¹ Princes to clayme this Crowne yet further of : of these, there are 4 which pretend every one to be next in succession.

The first of them, but the 9 in order of the 12, is the King of Portingal's poore sonne. To saye the truth, such a Kingdome wold come well by him, for he hath great need of it, but I thinke a less matter must serve him. He sayth he cometh of Philippa, the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, who indeed was married to John the 1, King of Portingall. Soe he, fynding the whole lynes of the 2 houses of Lancaster and Yorke worne out or illegitimate, he comes in upon a forlorn hope. But I thinke he will prove illegitimate too, aswell as his father Don Antonio, who was eyther unfitt by being unlawfull, or att least unhable to keepe his owne Kingdome, and his sonne is like to find himse in the same or worse termes to gett an other out of so many scrambling hands.

10 is the Duke of Parma, whose mother was Mary, eldest daughter to Edward, brother to Emanuell King of Portingal, ye direct line of which Emanuell ending in Sebastian, who was slayne in Barbary, it reverts to his brother's daughter's children, whereof this Duke Ramitius is one ; but he is some what to farr of in Italy to leape over so [many]² greate mountaynes to cacth³ the Crowne of this Iland. Besides, those reasons that are falsly pretended to cutt of the King of Scots for being a forraigne Prince, and the establishment of the Crowne by King Henry 8th his will, confirmed by act of Parliament, will debarr him in like manner. Indeed, if the valiant, wise and beloved Prince Alexander, his father, had lived and had enioyed the Lowe Countreyes and found a way open into England by the Queen's death or by division or weakness of all stronger competitors, he might have sayd some thing to the matter ; but yett very little, considring that the King of Spayne, his uncle, had a clayme before him from his mother Isabella, daughter to the King Emanuel of Portingall, to whom the tittle of Portingall descended in right line.

There is a Duke in Spayne alsoe, called the Duke of Draganza,⁴ which cometh of an other daughter of the said Edward, but yonger,

¹ MS. B. :—"forrayn."

² MS. B

³ MS. B. :—"cach."

⁴ i.e. the Duke of Braganza.

and therefore he cannot clayme to be [next]¹ till after the Duke of Parma.

The 11th is the King of Spayne, whose clayme is double; the first and eldest from Katherine, daughter to John of Gant, who was married to Henry 3, King of Castille, of whom Charles the 5 and he is lineally descendet; the 2 from Isabel before named by his right of Portingall.

The 12th is the Infante² of Spayne, now married to the Archduke Albertus, that may well be the last because it is the least to be reckned of and furthest of. Albeit there is a father fryar called Robt. Parsons, in Spayne, who hath lately made a booke³ whereby, they say, he proves her to be the next undoubted heyre to the King of England, feching it about by her mother and grandmother and, I knowe not whence, from the house of Britanie in France, whereto she is the right heyre, and so fetched it one way from Henry 2, King of England, 480 years since, who was Duke of Anjou; an other way further of, 540 yeares agoe, from Constance daughter to William the Conqueror, who was married to Allayne Duke of Britayne, whose race also, as they saye, endeth in her.

There are other which make their reckning an other way and leave out the Duke of Parma and bringe in the King of France as haveing a tryple right; by the said howse of Britanye which the Infanta claymes, and secondly by the house of Blois, and [3]¹ by the howse of Flanders. I am not so sharpe syghted in pedegrees to see how any of these wold⁴ hold water, especially this last, but well I wot that a slender tittle oftentime sufficeth for clayming and gayning of a Kingdome where there is power and opportunity to gett the possession once, as hath been seen often in that poor Island, first by William the Conqueror, and often since that in the strugling of the houses of Lancaster and Yorke, where many times Might hath overcome Ryght.

Thus you see this Crowne is not like to fall to the ground for want of heads that claime to weare it, but upon whose head it will fall is by many doubted, but I doe assure myselfe that the King of Scotland will carry it, as very many Englishmen doe know assuredly, but to determyne thereof is to all English capitally forbidden and therefore soe I leave it; onely I will sett downe

¹ MS. B.

² MS. B. :—"Infanta."

³ i.e. *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of England*, published in Antwerp under the name of R. Dolman.

⁴ MS. B. :—"will."

the Pedigrees of all these Competitors and leave the Rest to the Reader to Judge.¹

Thus you see by the genelogie how many there be wich claym, but the cheefest are the King of Scots, Huntington, Derby, and Beauchampe and Arabella. These last 3 are all flatly out by bastardye. Arbella's grandfather Archibald Douglas, the second husband of Margaret after the King of Scots, had an other wife living when he maryed her and soe Charles Stuart, his sonne by her and Arbella's father, was a bastard.

Beauchampe and Darby, and soe the whole house which come of Mary the 2^d sister, are likewise cutt of from inheritance by the self same reason, for its certaine that Charles Brandon their grandfather, when he maryed Mary, had an other wife called the Lady Anne Mortimer who lived after the other.

Huntington hath much right, to say the truth, if he had power, but he must rypp up the old quarrell of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster which cost 200,000 English mens lives, and besides cuttinge of thereby the lyne of Henry 7 he shall open a way to Spayne and other forraigne Princes which are stronger then he to bringe in theire claymes from the house of Lancaster, as he doth from the house of Yorke, so that the Realme will never suffer his clayme to take hold.

It resteth then that the King of Scots is lykelyest, and I will showe what reasons are alledged against him and howe those reasons are answered.

¹ Reason First, [it] ² is against the lawe of the land for any against the forraigner, borne out of the King's allegiance and of King of parents not of the King's allegiance, to inherite any Scots. thinge within the Realme, Edward 3, 29. This point is sore urged by the lawyers of England, especially such as are affectionat to the house of Suffolke and Huntington, which reasons for tediousness I omitt and refer you to a ³ treatise, written by a great lawyer and a statesman, intituled "A treatise of the allegacions against the surmised title of Scotland and the favorites of the same", which allegacons and arguments are of exceeding great force and greatly disenableth that tittle, which arguments notwithstandinge are noe lesse soundely and strongly answered by the Scottish party thus,

- ¹ Here both MSS. contain a genealogical table (omitted here) showing the descent of the various claimants from William the Conqueror.

² MS. B.

³ MS. B. :—"my"

First it is a generall rule of our Comon Lawe, that noe law, maxime, axiome, or statute whatsoever can touch the Crowne if there be not express mention thereof made in the same, which is not in any of the lawes against aliens; [as]¹ the Lawe is, a man marrying a woman inheretrix, if he hath issue by her, shall have her lands dureing his life, though the issue dye; but soe shall not he that marieth the Queen; likewise the Lawe is that if a man decease without heyre male haveing many daughters, his lands shall be parted equally among them all, but in the succession of the Crowne the eldest shall inheritt all; so by the Lawe the executor shall have all the mooveables of the Testator, but the moveables of the King or Queen descend to the next successor.

Secondly, the Lawe speaketh this of inheritance by descent, but the Crowne is no inheritance but an incorporation that goeth by succession, as is to be proved for that the King is never within age, he cannot avoid his letters patents by nonage.²

Thirdly in that Lawe is expressly excepted Infants du Roy, that is the King's ofspringe or issue, not onely his children lineally descended. For it were ridiculous to thinke that the King ment by that Lawe to cutt of all his ofspring from succession; his eldest sonne, the Black Prince, haveing att that time 2 children borne in France whereof one became King after; and Lyonell his 2^d sonne was married in Millan; John of Gaunt his 3 sonne had 2 daughters, att that time married to the 2 Kings of Spaine and Portugall.

Forthly many borne beyond the seas and of a parent not subiect to England have succeeded to the Crowne of England as, before the Conquest, Edgar borne in Hungary succeeding to Edward the Confessor and being sonne to Edward the Outlawe; since, Stephen and Henry the 2^d, both French, one Erle of Bloys, the other Duke of Aniou, yett both were Kings of England one after an other; and Arthur, Duke of Britayne, was declared and accepted for heyre apparent by Richard his oncle att his going into the Holy land, though after his other uncle, John, bereaved him both of his Kingdome and Life.

The iudgment and opinion of King Henry 7th about the selfe same matter when they were in consultacion of marrying the Lady Margett to the King of Scotts, by whom this King claymeth;

¹ MS. B.

² For the development, at this time, of the conception of the crown as a corporation see *The Collected Papers of F. W. Maitland*, Vol. III, pp 244-70.

the doubt was moved by some of the Counsell, what if the King's issue male should faile, and so the Crowne devolve to the heires of her as nowe it doth, to which the wise Kinge made this answer that yt could not be preiudiciall to England, being the greater and better part, but rather beneficiall as that it would drawe Scotland to it, and so conioyne both together ; which answer contented the Counsell and thereupon the marriage was concluded.¹

These are their greatest reasons to avoyd that Lawe, albeit, indeed, it may well be alledged that the King of Scots is noe alien neither that Scotland is any forraigne realme, but a part of England, albeit the Scotts deny it ; yett be it soe, itt cannot be included in that Law which speaketh onely of aliens borne out of the allegiance of England beyond the seas which Scotland is not : besides the King may by bloud be sayd to be English, his father being an Englishman and his grandmother an English woman, and in that especially he is not excluded by that Lawe for that such aliens as are thereby excluded must be of father and mother out of the allegiance of England, but his father, the Earl of Darnley, is well knowne to have been an Englishman and his grandfather also, the Earl of Lenox.

2. Reason They say that the Parliament gave liberty to King
against ye Henry the 8 to establish the succession by his will signed
King of with his owne hand, and ² by his letters patents. All
Scotts. that is true, but in that will the Scottish lyne is not excluded, but putt behinde the lyne of the yonger sister, which shewes they were never thought incapable ; but as for that will, it is proved by wittenesses of credit sufficient to have ben forged, as by the Lord Pagett and Sir Edward Montegue, who confessed the forgery thereof before the Counsell, as remayneth on record, who were present att the act : and William Clarke, who putt to the Kings Stamp in stead of his owne hand and purchased his pardon after for the deed, because by the Lawe it is high Treason ; whereupon in Queen Marye's tyme the enrollement of the said will was cancelled. Howsoever nowe they have forged an other.

And since that time in this Queen's dayes the 12 yeare of her raigne, upon occasion of a little booke spreade abroad, advancing the Tittle of the yonger sister's line before Scotland by pretence of this forged Testament, the Counsell assembled about itt vizt :

¹ In margin : " this is written by Polidore who wrтт ye affayres of ye tyme by ye command of King Henry 7."

² MS B. :—" or."

the Duke of Norfolke, Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, Earls of Arundell, Penbrooke, and Leycester, and many others, and upon long conference and many proofes that it was forged, the old Earle of Pembroke protesting he was with the King from the first houre of his sickness to his death and could thereby well assure the falsification thereof, att length it was moved that from that place they should goe with the rest of the nobility and proclayme the Queen of Scotts heyre apparant in Cheape Syde. Howsoever, by the meanes of some in ye company (tis thought the Earl of Leicester), it tooke not effect. Yett the Earl of Penbrooke now lyvinge can beare witnesse that this is true, and that his father att that time told him openly before the other noblemen, that he had brought him to that assembly to instruct him in the truth who was the right heire, and to charge him to witness the same, and to charge him to defend it with his sword, if need required, after his death.

The very causes why the Queen of Scotts was not proclaymed was onely her religion, it being thought that it would drawe many there unto, and especially her bad behaviour towards the Queen in seeking the Crowne before her time by many trecherous devices, and the suspicion of that, by many badd friends the King hath, to make the Queen thinke the [like]¹ of him is the cause that he is yett denyed itt, notwithstanding that the Queen is very prejudicate in her opinion in conserving that statute for concealing the next successor, yett, it is said, it is defyned both by her and the Parliament and sealed up in [3]¹ bales, and delivered to the King of France and 2 others, they haveing taken oath not to open itt untill the Queen's death; and this is done to avoid contention when that day shall happen, and the birds will sing closely that there is no other named there in but the King of Scotts. Haveing sett downe so much as is fitt concerning this first mayne point, and referring the rest to the treatise within mentioned, I will come now to describe the State according to the method prescribed, and first of the externall partes.

The Quantity of the Kingdomes & Territories. The Queen of England holdeth under her dominions absolutely the whole Kingdomes of England and Ireland with 21 Islands of names adioyned unto England, besides many which belong unto Ireland. She holdeth also divers places of consequence in the Lowe Countries by composition.

¹ MS B.

England from the furthest part Southward to Barwick Northward containeth 340 English miles, which are longer then Italian by a 5th part; likewise from the furthest part Eastward to St Michells Mont in Cornwell Westward it containeth little less, yett not so great as may seeme proportionable to this¹ distances of length and bredth for that North and West it holdeth not out in bredth quadrangular but groweth towards the forme of a tryangle, yett in compass it is found to exceed 800 miles.

Ireland from the South to the North conteyneth 300 miles Irish, which are some what longer then English, as from East to West about 140.

The Islands about England are most of them small, contayning some 12, 10 or 8 townes or villages a piece with some castle or fortress, saving 5 of them which are of some good importance viz. Man, Wight, Anglesey, Garnzey and Gerzey; Man is 30 miles in length.

The Qual- England, for the Commodities itt yields, is knowne
ties of ye to be inferior to no Country, saving that itt wanteth
Countrys. wine and spicery, but to answer that defect it aboundeth
in more sorts of other things necessary to life then any other
Country, so that it was justly comended by Constantius the father
of Constantine ye great *O fortunata et beatior omnibus terris Britannia,
merito te omnibus coeli et soli bonis natura donavit, tanto frugum
ubere tanto laeta numero pastuorum tot imo omnium metallorum
fluviis rivis, tot vectigalibus questuosa, in qua nec rigor nimius hieme,
nec ardor estate, nemora sine imanibus bestiis, terra sine serpentibus
noxijis, nihil denique in est quod vita offendat, nec deest quod vita
desiderat ita ut alter orbis extra orbem ad delicias humanae generis
constitui videatur.*

But my purpose is not to praise this Country, for then I should enter into too large a field, but onely to report the benefits of the Country, which is a speciall matter to the understanding of the state thereof, which is the end of this Treatise.

Comodi- The Comodities then which this Country aboundeth
ties of Eng- in and wherewith it helpeth itts neyhbours are these
land. especially; iron, steele, tynn, lead, copper and all
other kind of mineralls, saveing gold and silver, wooll, flax, heme,
corne, flesh, fish of all sorts, leather, cloath, salt, butter, cheese,
beere, fruits and herbes of all kindes wholsom and medicinable
zaffran.

¹ MS. B. :—"thes"

Comodities- The soile of Ireland is fertile and fruitfull, but badly
 tyes of Ire- manured by reason of the exaction of the Lords and
 land. that the Tenants have no certaine tyme in their lands
 but *ad voluntatem domini*, so that they regard not either to build
 houses or till their ground, by which meanes it groweth marrish,
 yett yeildeth [it]¹ great store of beasts and porke, excellent horses,
 and hawkes, fish and foule, in great aboundance, some store of
 sheepe bearing a corse long wooll, whereof they make their rugges,
 and great aboundance of wood : there are also mynes of iron, lead,
 and copper and (as some report) gold and silver, but little profit
 is made of any by reason the people be not industrious to find
 them out and work them.

In the Islands likewise there is not wanting scarce any of the
 Comodities before named and that in proportionall quantity.

England is devided into 52 provinces which are called
 Division of Countyes or Shires, whereof 12 are in that part of
 England.

England which is caled Wales, whose names to omitt
 prolixity I omitt untill I come to speake of the Revenue of the
 Prince because then I must repeat them all.

In these Provinces there are but 25 Cittyes, 641 Markets and
 Shire Towns, 186 Castles, 554 Rivers, 900 forests chases and parkes,
 Parish Churches 9725 [and bishopricks 26].¹

The Cittyes wherein also the Bishops have their names and
 seas be these

Canturbury	Coventry	Rochester	St Davids
York	& Lichfield	Carlisle	Bangor
London	Norwich	Winchester	St Asaph
Duresme	Salisbury	Bristoll	Landaff
Winchester	Worchester	Peterboroug	these 4
Excester	Chichester	Oxford	last be in Wales
Lyncolne	Glocester	Hereford	
Ely	Bath & Wells		

Of the 641 great Townes there are 289 which are not inferior
 in greatnes to most of these Cittyes, being most walled Townes
 and every one of them haveing voice in the Parliament by 2 bur-
 gesses which every one doth send thither, and the rest, albeit
 they be not walled, are some of them greater then many of the
 Cittyes in number of people and riches ; yea, there are many which

¹ MS. B.

goe in the number of villages or parishes wherein ther are found 3 or 4 thousand communicants, besides the yonger sort under 18 yeares of age; nay, there are some of those Country Townes which, haveing but one church, are in compass above 40 English miles, all well inhabited and very fruitfull ground: I have by myne owne experience bothe in Yorkeshire, in the North parts, and in Norfolke, in the South part, proved this, and where the inhabitants of credit there have reported to me that in some of those villages there were 20 gentlemen that might spend some 500, some 400, some 300^l sterling yearly, 40 [that myght dispend betwixt 100^l and 100 marks, 50]¹ that might spend 30, 40 and 50^l, and above 200 that might spend betwixt 20^l and 20 marks yearly and all by their lands in that towne: this I founde at Bristoll² neere Wakefield in Yorkeshire, and at Windhame in Norfolke, and many other places; this I have set downe that thereby the riches and powre of ye contry may be coniectured, which without doubt for the quantity is not equaled in all Christendome.

It is true that in England there is noe great reckning made of Castells and fortresses, for they doe willingly lett them goe to ruine and in stead thereof build them stately pleasant houses and palaces. The reasons they allege are these, that if there should be any invasion the enemy should have no holdes but such as they must be forced to make themselves, & within that meane time will fynd meanes enough to be disturbed therein; and besides they thinke the courage of the people would be the greater, knowinge they have no retyring places, but must needs fight it out att the first brunt; for when there were places of defence it was the cause of a lingring Warr which was the greatest [wo]¹ that ever the contry endured. Yett Castles there be which are these:—

	In Middlesex	Towre of London	200 ^l . yearly
Castles which be- long to the Queen with the wages she giveth for keeping them.		Colchester Castle	
		West Tilbury	
	Essex	Bulwark	20 ^l .
		Harwich Castle	18 ^l . 5 ^s .
		Est Marsey	
		Blockhowse	12 ^l . 3 ^s . 4 ^d .
		Pleshey Castle	
			ruined 9 ^l . 14 ^s . 4 ^d .

¹ MS. B.² MS. B. :—" Birstoll."

In Kent	Gravesend Bulwark	In Dorcetch.	Sandescot Castle
	Milton Bulwark		Portland Castle
	Qunboro Castle	In Cornewall	Pendennis Castle
	Sandwich Castle		St Mawes Castle
	Deal Castle		Launceston Castle
	Wolmer Castle	In Shropsh	Clume Castle
	Dover Castle		Bridgenorth Castle
	Moates Bulw.	In Cheshyre	Chester Castle
	Archff fort		Halton Castle
	Sandgate Castle	In Staffordsh	Tutbury Castle
In Sussex	Cumber Castle	In Herefordsh.	Hereford Castle
	Ry Castle	In Harfordsh	Hartford Castle
	Windsor Castle	In Leycestersh.	Leycester Castle
	Wallingford Castle		Bullingbrooke Castle
In Berkshire		In Lincolnsh.	Lincolne Castle
In Oxfordshire	Bristow Castle		Perle Castle
In Somersetsh.	Est Bryands Castle	In Derbysh	Melborne Castle
In Gloucestersh	Wigmore Castle		Nottingham Castle
In Herfordsh.	Portsmouth Castle	In Notting- hamsh	Newark Castle
	Southsea Castle	In Devonshire	Dartmouth Castle
	St Andrewes Castle		Plymouth Castle
	Calshott Castle	In Norfolke	Norwich Castle
	Hurst Castle		Framingham Castle
	Sandambay Castle	In Suffolke	Dunstanburg Castle
	Caresbrooke Castle	In Northum	Bernard Castle
	Jermouth Castle	In Duresme	Rabye Castle
	Westcorfe Castle		Braunspeth Castle
	Shurffhutton Castle		
In Hampshire	Plymoth	In Wales	
	Hull Castle	In Brekenocksh	Breknock Castle
	Richmond Castle	In Cardigansh.	Aberstworth Castle
	Midlam Castle	In Caermar- thensh	Caermarten Castle
	Scareboroug Castle		Kiddwelly Castle
	Pomfrett Castle	In Caernar- vansh	Caernarvan Castle
	Pickeringe Castle		Conwey Castle
	Knaresburg Castle	In Denbigsh.	Holst Castle
	Sandall Castle	In Flintsh	Flint Castle
	Carlsle Castle		
In Yorkshire	le Citadelle	In Merionethsh	Horley Castle
	Bean Castle	In Monmouthsh.	Monmouth Castle
	Barwick Castle	In Montgomerysh	Mongomery Castle
	Holly Land Castle	In Penbrookesk.	Haverford Castle
	Norham Castle		Penbrooke Castle
	Wark Castle	In Radnorshire	Radnor Castle
	Harbotts Castle		
	Langley Castle		
	Tinmouth Castle		
In Comberland			

There are, besides, an infinite number of other Castles which belonging¹ to gentlemen and noblemen as their private houses :

¹ MS. B. :—"belonge"

and the Queen hath also many other, but to these onely she allowed¹ the maintainance of a Captaine or Lieutenant or some other officer [as Gonner]² or Porter or Constable, and is att charge to maintayne them in reparacions because they stand either upon the Sea Coast or on the frontiers of Scotlande. Unlesse it be some fewe that be inland, unto which in tyme of civil descention there was stipend and officers allowed by letters patents from the Kinge, which is still maintayned and paid by the Queen, albeit the Castles themselves of these which be inland are suffered to decay, as is great pittie to behold.

But those upon the borders of Scotland are well maintayned both with souldiers and ammunition, aswell for the jealousie of Scotland as also to with stande the incursions of the Scots upon the borders, whom the Kinge himselfe and the nobilitie (albeit they were never so assured to England) cannot keepe in order, as is found by the continuall daily bickeringes and robberies which are amongst the borderers aswell English as Scottish.

Those Castles and forts in the West Countreye are also well fortified and kept for fear of the Spanyard, the capitall enemy of England.

But those toward Ireland, France and the Lowe Countries (except the Rivers of Thames) are but weakely provided, by reason the former 2 are known not to have any navy able to approach England with any great force, and if they should provide to doe it, in the meane while there should be time enough also for England to provide for defence, and for the Lowe Countryes England is very confident of their friendshippe, especially those of the United Provinces their alyes, which are onely stronge in shippinge.

And thus the occasion of these Castles and fortes and the state of them ministreth knowledge in what termes England standeth with her Neighbour Princes, vizt. whom she is to feare, hope, warr with, hold in league. It being well knownen what state these princes are in vizt. Scotland poore but trustles, Spayn stronge but far of, the Lowe Countryes and Germany assured, Ireland rebellious but unable to hurt, France content yett to lyve in quyett, and when his humours shall begin to stirr, he will first attempt to recover his owne in the continent of his owne Country, Artois, Burgondy and Navarre, and after which Italy, which will hold him alonge whiles work.

To follow the order prescribed I must goe on in the same

¹ MS. B. — "alloweth."

² MS. B.

The division of Ireland method with Ireland as I doe with England, being a speciall part, yett ¹ almost a halfe part, though broken and lame, of the Teretorye and dominion which I undertoke to describe.

The whole realme is divided into 5 provinces called

1. *Mounster* subdivided into 5 Countyes vizt. Waterford, Corke, Lymeryck, Tipperary and Kerry ;
2. *Ulster* contayning 9 Countyes—Louth, Downe, Antrim, Monahan, Fermanach, Tironem, Dungal, Colran, Armanach ;
3. *Leinster* contayneing 7 Countyes—Dublin, Kildare, Caterloghe, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kings County, Queens Countye.
4. *Conaght* contayneing 6 Countyes—Clare, Slygo, Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Letrim ;
5. *Meath* is devided into—Est Meath, West Meath, Longford and Cavan.

In this Country there are 4 archbishopricks & 25 bishopricks.

1. *Archbishop of Dublin* who hath under him 4 Bishops and the Bishoprick of Gandalon united to Dublin—Kildare, Leigleyne, Osorye, Ferne.
2. *Archbishop of Toam* hath 5 Bishops under him, vizt. :—Bishops of Diva, Alad, Elfin, Kilmakon, Clenfert.
3. *Archbishop of Cassel* hath under him 8 Bishops—Emily united to Cassel, Waterford and Lismot united, Cork and Clare united, Ross, Ardach, Laom alias Kilado, Limbrick, Finabor.
4. *Archbishop of Armach* write primate of Ireland hath under him likewise 8 Bishops—Meath, Ardakan, Dromory, Don and Conor united, Dere, Rapaten, Tirbrunen, Clohn.

Chief In Leinster and Meath 16 :—Dublin, Droghed, Duntownes in dalk, Carlingford, Ardragh, Kildare, Kingstowne, Queen-Ireland. ston, Kilkenny, Laghlyn, Caerlogh, Wexford, Ferns, Aboy, Louth, Naas.

In Monster 13 :—Waterford, Yohall, Corke, Ross, Askelten, Botenant, Kilmaloe, Limrike, Cassell, Clomell, Carick, Ardart and Dingle.

In Conogh 7 :—Kelleloe, Clare, Killeneroe, Galway, Athlone, Roscomen, Slego.

In Ulster 5 :—Armach, Newry, Downe, Dungavon and one haven in a baye caled Knocfergus.

In every one of these there is a castel, but not of great force, and an infinite number of small piles of stone built like church steeples,

¹ MS. B. :—"yea."

which they call castells, but they are not of any importance, and those that were in Tyron's contry, where the chiefe rebellion is, are razed, saving only the fort of Dongamon.

For frontiers neighbours they have none but the sea, they feare none but England, they hope in none but Spayne and Scotland.

The number of subjects and divi- sion. It were too impossible a matter to goe about to observe the methode in this to tell how many subiects these Kingdomes containe, albeit I could make a reasonable coniecture knowinge the number of parishes and, for the most part, how each province is peopled ; but it shall not be necessarye to rove at this matter as Botero, a stranger, hath don who never came within 1000 mile of these Countryes and yett doth talk [*sic*] upon him to sett downe how many soules there be in this Kingdome, as he doth of many others, by hearesay.

But whereas Botero¹ confesseth in his first relation, about 30 yeares since, that for soldiers England was able to make 2 millions of armed men besides horsemen, I cannot be induced to believe that ; but this I knowe that anno 1588, when the mountaynes mouse, the invincible Spanish armada, was so fearfully expected, there was Commission to bring into the field to the musters in every part of the realme all men that were of perfect sence and lyme from 16 to 60, except noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, scholers and laweyers, officers and such as had publicq charges, leaving of the countrymen onely sufficient to till the ground, and then in all those musters there were numbred 300,000, which is halfe as many more [*sic*] as Botero speaks of, but to say that the halfe or 3d part of them were fitt to be *homes d'armes*, as he termeth them, I can neither affirme nor believe. So much for the people which make the strength of the Realme ; for boyes, women, children and impotent and unfitt persons for warr I leave to their coniectures which can guesse according to this proportion. In Ireland I cannot say what number of persons there be, but by report and uncertayne coniecture unsure—*sed coniectura aliquando prope possumus accedere*.

I could not understand that in this late rebellion the Earle of

¹ Giovanni Botero (1544–1617), Italian economist and political theorist. This reference to him is somewhat puzzling, as his famous *Relazioni Universali* did not appear until 1591 and do not contain the statement here quoted. In any case, the following sentences suggest that two millions is a slip for 200,000. Cf. the different totals of lives lost in the Wars of the Roses given on pp. 3 and 6.

Tirone could with all the rebels of Ireland gett together more then twenty thousand, all the Irish being revolted

Quintuplex est divisio subditorum Angliae

Nobiles

Cives

Yeemani

Artisani

Opifices rusticorum

Nobilitas duplex est per prima divisione { *laica*
clera

Subdividitur etiam in nobilitatem
maiozem que continet

marchiones

comites

vicecomites

barones et

episcopos

minorem

equites

armigeros

generosos

ministros

litteratos omnes qui gradus

aliquos in Academiis acceperunt.

Marchiones 2 sunt Wincestriae et Northamptoniae, hodie autem non est Marchio Northamptoniae sed Marchionissa solummodo obiit enim ultimus sine prole masculino.

Comites sunt 18—Oxford, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Kant, Derb', Worcester, Rutland, Comberland', et Sussex, Huntington', Bath', Southampton', Bedford', Penbroch', Hartford', Essex, Lincoln', Nottingham' noviter anno hoc creatus pro servitio apud Cales ob quam rem Comes Essex iure potest cantare hos ego versiculos.¹

Vicecomites 2 sunt Vicecomes de Monteaquito Montague et Bindoniae.

Barones sunt 39 qui tenent ordinem sequentem—D Audley, Zouch, Willoughby de Ersby, Berkely, Morley, Dacre, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Scroope, Dudley, Sturton, Lomley, Montioy, Ogle, Darcey, Sandes, Vaulx, Windsor, Burgh, Wentworth, Cromwell, Mordant, Wharton, Eures, Willoughby of Param, Rich, Darcy, Sheffield, North, Howerd, Honsdon, Chaundos, Buckhurst, Sant John, Burghley, de la Ware, Compton, Noreys.

¹ The earls are given " *secundum ordinem eorum antiquitates et antecedentia.*"

The Nobility of Ireland be these :—the Earle of Tyron, the Earle of Kildare, the Earle of Ormond, the Earle of Tonmonde, the Earle of Clencarle, the Earle Klenricarte, whereof the 2 later have the sirname of Burgh and are descended of the Lord Burghes of England ; there are also divers Barons and cheefe men there of that name.

There is in this Country great aboundance of nobility, the names of whom, with their abilityes and Countryes, I referre you to my Treatyse of the State of Ireland as it is att this present now in Rebellion,¹ wherein you shall see the perfect state of that Country as well as if you had lived among them many yeares.

There revenues in money are not great att this present, their lands being lett out to such as are bound to serve them in warr, or in any other service they require, and for such cattel or goods as their Tenants possess their Lords may take as much of it at any [tyme] ² as he pleaseth for his use, and their cheefe welth consist ³ in coves.

But the tyme hath been not longe since that the nobility of Ireland have payed yeerly to the Kings of England 5,000^l sterling toward his warres, or other cause, as it pleased him to imploye it.

And I find that in one Province there was in the tyme of Henry 8 as many Barons as might dispend 2,000^l yeerly in mony besides all other Comodities. And that the Lord Burgh and the Earl of Kildare were so mighty that they 2 furnished 30,000 men against the Scots invading Ireland, but nowe through there owen rebellion their states are much weakned and very miserable, and the Queen of England is so farre from receaving ayd out of that Country that it costs her 300,000^l yearly to defend it from quite loseinge.

The ability and state of rich, albeit they be much decayed from the States they the Common were wont to have, for the gentlemen, which were wont people of England. to addict themselves to the warres, are nowe for the

most part growen to become good husbandes and knowe [as] ² well how to improve their lands to the uttermost as the farmer or countryman, so that they take their farmes into their handes as the leases expire, and eyther till themselves or else lett them out to those who will give most ; whereby the yeomanry of England is decayed and become servants to gentlemen, which were wont to

¹ This does not appear ever to have been published, or even to exist in manuscript.

² MS. B.

³ MS. B. :—" consisteth."

be the glory of the Country and good neighbourhood and hospitality ; notwithstanding there are yett some store of those yeomen left who have long leases of such Landes and Lordships as they hold, yea I know many yeomen in divers Provinces in England which are able yeerly to despend betwixt 3 or¹ 5 hundred pound yeerly by theire Lands and Leases and some twice and some thrise as much ; but my yonge masters the sonnes of such, not contented with their states of their fathers to be counted yeoman and called John or Robert (such an one), but must skipp into his velvett breches and silken dublett and, getting to be admitted into some Inn of Court or Chancery, must ever after thinke skorne to be called any other then gentleman ; which gentlemen indeede, perceiving them unfitt to doe them that service that their fathers did, when there leases doe expire turne them out of their landes, which was never wont to be done, the farmer accounting his state as good as inheritance in tymes past, and lett them to such as are not by their badd peniworths able to gentleman it as others have done.

Notwithstanding this that the great yeomanry is Cominalty. decayed, yett by this meanes the Cominalty is encreased, 20 nowe perhaps with their labor and diligence living well and welthily of that land wich our great yeoman held before, who did no other good but maintayne beefe and brewes for such idle persons as would come and eate it, a fyne daughter or 2 to be maried after with 10,000² to some Covetouse Mongrell [gentleman].³ Of these yeomen of the richest sort which are able to lend the Queen money (as they doe ordinarly upon her letters called pryvie seales whensoever she hath any Warres deffensive or offensive or any other entrepryse) there are accounted to be about 10,000 in Contry Villages besides Cittizens.

There are, moreover, of yeomen of meaner ability which are called Freeholders, for that they are owners of Lands which holde by noe base service of any Lord or superior, such as are able to keepe 10 or 11 or 8 or 6 milch kyne, 5 or 6 horses to till there ground, besides yong beastes and sheepe and are accounted to be worth each of them in all their substance and stock betwixt 3 and 5 hundred pounds sterlinge more or lesse, of these, I saye, there are reckoned to be in England and Wales about the number of 80,000, as I have seen in sheriffs' books.

The rest are Copyholders and Cottagers, as they call them, who

¹ MS. B. :—" and."

³ MS. B.

² MS. B. :—" 1,000'."

hold some land and tenements of some other Lord which is parcel of the demeisne of his signory or manner at the will of the Lord, and these are some of them men of as great ability as any of the rest; and some poore, and lyve cheefly upon contry [labor]¹ working by the day for meat and drinke and some small wages; thes last are they which are thrust out to service in weare,² the richer sort of yemen and their sones being trayned but not sent out of the land, but kept to defend against invasion att home unless they will goe voluntary as many doe. Notwithstanding, the captain will sometyes press them to the end to gett a brybe to release them.

The number of this latter sort is uncertaine by cause ther is no bookes or records kept of them, unless it be in pryvate Stuards hands which is impossible to be gathered altogether, but I can give a reasonable guess by reason of an office which for 7 yeares together I exercised, wherin I had occasion to take the names of all the inhabitants of 5 shyres.

These, by reason of the great priviledges they enioy, every citty being, as it were, a Comon Wealth among themselves, no other officer of the Queen¹ nor other haveing authority to entermedle amongst them, must needes be exceeding well to pass. They are not taxed but by there owne officers of the own brotherode, every art haveing one or 2 of his owne which are continually of the Counsell of the Citty in all affayres to see that nothing pass contrary to their profit, besides they are not suffred to be idle in their Cittyes as they be in other parts of Christendome, but every child of 6 or 7 yeares old is forced to some art whereby he gayneth his own lyvinge and some thing besides to helpe to enriche his parents or master. I have knowne in one Citty viz. Norwich where the accounts haveing been made yearly what children from 6 to 10 yeares have erved towards there keeping in a yeare, and it hath been accounted that it hath rysen to 12,000 pounds sterlinge which they have gayned, besides other keepinge, and that cheefly by knitting of fine jerzey stockins, every child being able at or soone after 7 yeares to earne 4 shillings a weeke att that trade, which the marchants uttered att London; and some tradeing therewith with France and other parts. And in that Citty I have knowe in my time 24 aldermen which were esteemed to be worth 20,000^a a peece, some much more, and the better sort of Cittizens the halfe; but if wee shold speak of London and some other marityne places wee should find it much exceeding

¹ MS. B.² i. e. war.

this rate, it is well knowne that att this time there are in London some merchants worth 100,000¹ and he is not accounted rich that cannot reach to 50,000 or neer itt.

Every Citty hath a peculier jurisdiction among themselves granted by the King in divers times, by which jurisdiction, conferred by letters patents under the great seale of England, they have authority to Judge in all matters Criminell & Cyvill, that is to say they have hault, meane and bass justice; but thus, with this restraynt that still all Civill causes may be removed from theirs to the higher Courts at Westminster either by a Writt calld Habeas Corpus before judgment or by a writt of False Judgment or Error after iudgment.

They have in every Citty or Corporat Towne one cheif officer which they [cale] ¹ a mayor, who is the Queen's Lieftenant chosen by the greater part of Citizeens out of the number of 24 Aldermen which are of their Senat, as it weare, for a yeare onely, and his office is to governe the Citty in good order and to make a lawe and constitutions for the benefitt of the Citty, which must be confirmed by Comon Counsell, and he is as it were the Chancellour for his tyme to compromitt matters and to mittigate the rigor of the Lawe.

They have also 2 cheefe officers called Sherriffes, annuall also, which are the iudges in all civill causes betwixt cittizens or forraign causes brought thether, the one of the Sheriffs is for the Citty, the other for the Queen. They, or some by their appointment, see all execution don either penal or capital.

Where there is no Mayor, there the Citty is governed by 2 balyffs which have equall authority in all causes as Mayor and Sheriffes.

There is no Territoryes belonging to any Citty but onely the Town and suburbs, neither doth the Queen place any governor in any Towne through out the whole Realme, but the Cittizens and Townesmen doe alwaies elect them and noe magistrat endureth above a year at once.

The State of the Nobility and ye Number. I have seen divers books which have been collected by Secretaires and Counsellors of Estate which did exactly show the severall revenues of every nobleman, knights and gentlemen through the realme, and curiously collected by an uncle of myne ² which not long since was principall Secretary to the Queen: but it were to longe in this simple dis-

¹ MS. B.

² In the margin :—" Dr. Wilson ", i.e. Dr Thomas Wilson (1525 ?-1581), Secretary of State from 1577 to 1581 and a noted scholar and author.

course to sett downe the particularities thereof, but conferring these bookes together I find great alteracions almost every yeare, so mutable are wordly thinges and worldly mens affaires; as namely the Earl of Oxford, who in the yeare 1575 was rated at 12,000 a yeare sterlinge, within 2 following was vanished and no name of him found, haveing in that time prodigally spent and consumed all even to the selling of the stones timber and lead of his castles and howses, and yett he liveth and hath the first place amongst Earles, but the Queen is his gracious Mistress and gives him maintaynance for his nobility sake, but (to say the truth) out of the Bishoprick of Ely, which since his decay cold never see other Bishope. And other, the Earl of Arrundell, about the same time was reckoned not much inferior to him in state, and before him in dignity, and in one 6 months all was confiscate to the Queen for Treason. The other Earls some daily decay, some encrease accordinge to the corse of the world, but that which I have noted by perusinge many of the said bookes, and of the later sort, is that still the totall sume groweth much to one reckoninge and that is to 100,000^s rent yearly, accountinge them all in grosse to avoyde prolixity. If a man would proportion this amongst 19 Erles and a Marquis it would be no great matter, to every one 5,000^s rent, but as some exceed that much, so many come short of it.

The 39 Barons and 2 Visconts doe not much exceed that some, their revenue is reckoned together to amonte to 120,000^s yearly.

The Bishops revenues amonte to about 22,500^s yearly altogether, where of 3 of them, viz. Canterbury, Winchester and Ely, receive Rent per Annum betwixt 2,000^s and 3,000^s, the rest betwixt 1,000 and 500^s and some less.

The deanes ar the Chiefe ecclesiasticall persons of every Cathedral Church next unto the Bishops whose comande over the prebends and Canons is more then the Bishops, and their Comodities in letting the Church lands and bestowing the places and offices is very great, otherwise their revenue is not much, the best not exceeding 300^s yearly, and the rest some 200 some 100 and many less, their whole revenue accounted through England amounted to the sum of 4,500^s yeerly or thereabouts.

But this must be understood, that the state of the Clergy is not altogether so bare as may perhaps be coniectured by the smalenes of their revenue, for that they never raise nor rack their rentes nor putt out tenantes as the Noblemen and gentlemen doe to the uttermost penny; but doe lett their lands as they were lett 100

yeares since, reservinge to themselves and their successors some Comodities besides the bare Rent, as corne, muttons, beefe, poultry or such like ; but to say the Truth, their winges are well clipt of late by Courtiers and noblemen and some quite cutt away, both fether, flesh and bone.

These are the States of the Nobility, both Clergy and laye, which are called *nobilitas maior* ; there rests to touch those of the meaner nobility, which are termed *nobilitas minor* and are eyther knights, esquyers, gentlemen, laweyers, professors and ministers, achdecons, prebends, and vicars.

The State and number of Knights. There are accounted to be in England about the number of 500 Knightes as I have reckoned them, both by divers comissions of every severall Shire remaineing in the Chancery office for makeing of Justices of peace, of which Comission all Knights to be unless they be putt by for religion or some particular disfavor. I reckon not among these my Lord of Essex Knights (whose father livinge or many of them hardly good gentlemen and which for a difference of their Knighthood are scarnefully caled Cales, Roan¹ or Irish Knights) but such as are cheefe men in their Countryes both for livinge and reputacions, though many of them knowe scarsly that Knighthood meanes, but are made Knights for the Creditt of their Contry and to induce them to live in a more honorable manner, both for their own Creditt and the service of their Prince and Country, then otherwise perhaps they wold doe ; these for the most part are men for living betwixt 1,000 and 2,000^l yearly, and many of them equall the best Barons and come not much behind many Erles as I have divers viz. Sir John Peeter, Sir John Harington, Sir Nicholas Bacon and others, who are thought to be able to dispend yearly betwixt 5,000^l and 7,000^l of good land.

The Number and State of Gentlemen. Those which wee call Esquires are gentlemen whose ancestors are or have bin Knights, or else they are the heyres and eldest of their houses and of some competent quantity of revenue fitt to be called to office and authority in their Country where they live ; of these there are esteemed to be in England, as I have seene by the booke of musters of every severall shire, to the number of 16,000 or there about, whereof there are of [them]² in Commissions of the peace about 1,400 in every province—in some 40, in some 50, some 30, more or less ; these are men in livinge betwixt 1,000 and 500^l rent. Especially

¹ i.e. Rouen.

² MS. B.

about London and the Countyes adioyning, where their landes are sett to the highest, he is not counted of any great reckning unless he be betwixt 1,000 marks or 1,000^l, but Northward and farr off a gentleman of good reputacion may be content with 300 and 400 yerly. These are the elder brothers.

The state of great yonger brethren I cannot speak of the [number]¹ of yonger brothers, albeit I be one of the number mysellic, but for their estate there is no man hath better cause to knowe it, nor less cause to praise it, their state is of all stations for gentlemen most miserable, for if our fathers possess 1,000 or 2,000^l yearly at his death he cannot give a foot of land to his yonger children in inheritance, unlesse it be by lease for 21 years or for 3 lyves, [or unless his land be socage tenure whereof there is little, or gavell kind, such as is oneley in one province, in Kent.]¹ or else be purchased by himselfe and not descended. Then he may demise as much as he thinkes good to his yonger children, but such a fever hectick hath custome brought in and inured amongst fathers, and such fond desire they have to leave a great shewe of the stock of their house, though the branches be withered, that they will not doe it, but my elder brother forsooth must be my master. He must have all, and all the rest that which the catt left on the malt heape, perhaps some smale annuytye during his life or what please our elder brother's worship to bestowe upon us if wee please him, and my mistress his wife. This I must confess doth us good someways, for it makes us industrious to apply ourselves to letters or to armes, whereby many times we become my master elder brothers' masters, or at least their betters in honour and reputacion, while he lyves att home like a mome and knowes the sound of no other bell but his own.

The Estate of Comon Lawiers This sorte and order of people within these 40 or 50 yeares, since the practise of civill lawe hath been as it were wholly banished and abrogated, and since the clergy hath ben troden downe by the takinge away of church livinges, and since the longe continuance of peace hath bred an inward cankar and rest in menn's myndes, the people doeing nothinge but iarre and wrangle one with another, thes lawyers by the ruines of neighbours' contencions ar growne so great, so rich and so proud, that no other sort dare medle with them; their number is so great now that, to say the truth, they can scarcely live on by an other, the practise being drawn into a few hand of those

¹ MS. B.

which are most renowned, and all the rest live by pettifogging, seeking meanes to sett their neighbours att variance whereby they may gayne on both sides. This is one of the greatest inconveniences in the land, that the number of the Lawyers are¹ so great they undoe the country people and buy up all the lands that are to be sold, soe that yong gentlemen or others newly cominge to their livinges, some of them pryinge into his evidence will find the meanes to sett him at variance with some other, or some other with him, by some pretence or quiddity, and when they have halfe consumed themselves in sute they are fayne to sell theyr land to follow the process and pay theire debts, and then that becomes a prey to laweyers.

For the greatness of some of them it is incredible, not to speake of the 12 cheefe judges and the multitude of sergents, which are most of them counted men of 20,000 or 30,000^l yearly, there is one at this daye of a meaner degre, viz. the Queen's attorney,² who, within this 10 yeares in my knowledge was not able to dispend above 100^l a yeare and now by his owne lands, his coyns, and his office he may dispend betwixt 12 and 14 thousand.

There are in number of Sergents about 30, Counsellors about 2,000, and as many attorneys, besides solicitors and pettifoggers an infinite number, there being no province citty towne nor scarce village free from them, unlesse the Isle of Anglesey, which boast they never had lawyers nor foxes.

The State of Civill Lawyers This State of all others is the weakest, they haveing no meanes but by practise in the arches and other the Bishops of Canterburyes Courts, and some small practise in some other consistores. There are of them some 24 belonging to the arches which gayne well, and every Bishop hath a Chancellor that liveth in some good³ creditt, the rest, god wot, are fayne to become powre Commissaryes and officialls of deaness and archdeacons, which ride up and downe the Country to keepe Courts for correcting of bawdy matters etc. and take great paines for small gaynes.

Unless he chance to prove so⁴ rare man of conceit in State matters, and that hath good friends in the Court, and then perhaps he may

¹ MS. B. :—"be."

² In margin :—"Sir Ed. Coke" For the eighteenth-century traditions of Coke's earnings, see Daines Barrington, *Observations on the more ancient Statutes*, 4th ed., p. 508

³ MS. B. :—"pore"

⁴ MS. B. :—"some"

be called to be a Master of the Requests or Secretary of State *sed non cuius homini contingit adire Corinthum*, in my time and my father's and grandfather's there was but one Civilyan Secretary of State.¹

The Queen's revenue² is of divers sorts but may be reduced unto two kindes viz. ordinary or extraordinary. The Ordinary is that which ariseth of the Crowne lands and Commodities and prerogatives of the same whither they be ancient or newly annexed, as by divers Duckdoms, Countyes, Barronyes, Seigneuries, and Lands either for want of heire escheated or otherwise by offence, and this is uncertain and each yeare augmenteth or diminisheth; but that which the auditors and the receivers had in charge in every severall circuit the last yeare save one is as followeth out of every shyre, saving where 3 or 4 shyres are ioyned together in one auditors account:—

Lincolneshyre	6,600 ^l	Stafford	
Nottingham		Worcester	
Darby	2,580 ^l	Shropshire	4,192 ^l
Cheshire		Herriford	
Southampton		Cumberland	
Wilshire	7,464 ^l	Lancashire	3,163 ^l
Glocestershire		Westmerland	
Somersetshire		Yorkshire	15,620 ^l
Dorsettshire	5,700 ^l	Northumberland	8,733 ^l
Devonshire		Dureshame	
Cornwall	4,740 ^l	Richmondshire	3,602 ^l
Kent		Huntingtonshire	
Surrey	10,444 ^l	Essex	6,544 ^l
Sussex		Hertford	
Oxfordshire	3,061 ^l	Middlesex	4,720 ^l
Berkeshire		South Wales	
Buckingham	3,010 ^l	North Wales	3,168 ^l
Bedfordshire			
Northampton	2,831 ^l		
Rutlandshire			
Warwick	3,956 ^l		
Leycestershire			

¹ Actually both Sir Thos. Smith, Secretary in 1572, and Dr. Thos. Wilson, Secretary from 1577 until 1581, were civil lawyers.

² Wilson seems to have drawn upon his imagination as well as upon records in compiling this statement of the royal revenue and expenditure. Cf. the figures printed by F. C. Dietz in his two volumes on the subject, *The Exchequer in Elizabeth's Reign* (1923) and *English Public Finance, 1558-1641* (1932).

The Duchy of Cornwall annexed to the revenue	4,244 ¹
The Duchey of Lancaster not accountable in the exchequer but governed wholly by other officers who notwithstanding pay the money into the general receipte yeildeth above ¹	17,000 ¹
The whole summ of this amounts to	123,587 ¹ sterling

The one halfe onely of the aforesaid revenue or there about was wont to be accounted the antient revenue of the Crowne, the rest is augmented in King Henry 8 his time and since by the Abbey and Church Lands and by confiscation & escheats.

Every Bishop Dean Archdeacon and spirituall person payed² to the Queen in the first 2 yeares after he is installed in the benefice the full value of one yeares proffit thereof, according as every lyving is rated in a booke which is called the Queen's booke, albeit it be not to the full value as [it]³ is nowe worth perhaps by the 10th part, but as it was lett 50 or 60 yeares since, when that booke was made, and the rest of the yeares as long as he liveth he payeth the 10th part of the value, which was⁴ called the 10^{ths} [and]⁵ those 10^{ths} are very certain savinge the 2 first yeares 10^{ths}⁵ y^t⁶ the person comes to his benefice but if after he be installed in itt he dye within a month, his executors must pay first fruits. If an other take it and continue no longer, he must doe the like, and so if 20 happen in one yeare, this is no doubt a great matter to the prince, I have in my remembrance knowne 4 persons dye in a yeare so the Queen hath had 4 times the valewe of the benefice for that yeare: soe might she doe for Bishopricks but that, though they be soe⁷ old before they be chosen, yett imagineing they may lyve som months after they be installed, the Prince takes the present benefit of the vacacion perhaps for halfe a yeare, a yeare, 2 or 3 or 4 or more, as experience tells of some that have been 12 yeares without a Bishop and att last grewe dismembred.

There is besides levyed upon the Clergy every yeare a subsidy which is granted att a Parliament for 3 yeares, and every 3 yeares there is a new, so they never are without subsidy, this subsidy is perhaps 6 or 4 shillings in the pound of the value of their benefice.

Of all these the Queen receiveth, *communibus annis*, of the Clergy of England for first fruits, tenths and subsidies, as it appear-

¹ MS. B. :—" about."

² MS. B. :—" payeth."

³ MS. B.

⁴ MS. B. :—" are."

⁵ "10ths" does not appear in MS. B.

⁶ MS. B. :—" which."

⁷ MS. B. :—" too."

eth by the accounts of every Bishop and Collector of the Spiritualities, to the summ of near a 100,000^l sterling.

The Extraordinary revenue of the Crowne, which is accounted casuall and is some yeare more some yeare less, ariseth cyther (1) of the Wardes or (2) of fines for leases of Lands, Woods or houses (3) sale of Woodes, coales, mineralls and such like (4) Gabells and Customes (5) taxes and subsidies (6) confiscation of offenders' lands and goods for some capitall cryme (7) or els upon mulcts, forfeitures and amerciaments in the Courts of Justice or Exchequer.

The benefitt of the Wardes is reckoned one yeare with an other to be worth to the Queen betwixt 20 and 30 thousand sterling, albeit the last Threasurer who was also Master of the Wardes gayned twice as much to him and his besides that which the Queen had, and his sone tis thought, who hathe it nowe, cometh not behind his father but rather makes much more to the Queen and himselfe [30,000^l] ¹

The fines for leases of Lands, of houses, or sales of Woods etc. have yelded by old bookes long since betwixt 15 and 20 thousand pounds, now every thinge beinge enhanssed it cannot be less the twice as much 30,000^l ²

The Gabelles, Customes, taxes and subsidyes yeld ordinarily 40,000

The subsidyes and taxes being after 2^s 8^d the pound of goods and 4^s lands.

The puneshments pecuniary out of the Courts of Justice though often iniustly, these statutes and faultes beinge punished wich the lawe makers would willingly have kept, are accounted to bring ordinarily to the Queen's Coffers 20,000

Of the Confiscations of Capitall offenders of late there comes no greate profitt to the Queen, for as they happen nowe a daies seldom soe when they hapen (yea and before many times) one impudent cortier or other, for his greate service done in standing an houre or 2 in a day barheaded in the presence chamber, is ready to begge them, soe they seldome or never come into the exchequer; but of this kinde in the beginning of this Queen's time there was much profitt come to the Crowne by traytors, rebels, banished persons and voluntarie exiles to the value of 50,000^l yearly income, but as the Queen then was yong and liberall, soe she liberally bestowed them upon her servants, but her yeers hath nowe brought with it (the inseparable qualitie thereof) Neereness.

¹ MS. B.

² MS. B. — "35,000^l"

Thus the totall sume of the Queen's revenue, besides those casualties where of is no mention in the exchequer, amounteth to

348,587¹ sterling

This some is raised upon the comodities and ancient benefitts belonging to the Crowne without ever ¹ gifts of friends, pensions of confederates for protection, marchandizing, usury, sale of honours and magistracies, tribute, or imposition for sale of any comodities within the realme, or any such greivous or intollerable taxations as are ordinarye in (almost) all other Countreyes excepting Germany and Scotland; I make no doubt but if the Queen shold sett such impositions upon her subiects for every kinde of thinge, as other Princes doe, she might well triple her revenue and yett weaken her Estate.

As I have devided her revenue into ordinary and extraordinary, so must I doe her expences, because the former are certayne the later uncertaine according to pleasure and occasion.

The greatest ordinary expence is the entertaynement of her house and Court, which for hospitality is much exceedinge all other Princes in Christendome, she maintayninge daily att her owne onely charge 46 tables furnished with plenty and abundance of meate, beere and wine.

First her owne table in the presence chamber served with 3 courses, att [ech] ² course 40 or more severall dishes, where notwithstanding she seldome or never eateth but the carver distributeth it to the Ladyes and Cortiers and keepeth for her owne table what she pleaseth, for with the Carvar being some of the beautifullest maids in the Court (every daye a change) dineth comonly the yong Contes, Lords, and other gallants whom she pleaseth to invite and some Ladyes for fashions sake and there is comonly the beste Cheere.

(2) The Queen's table in the privye chamber

(3) a Table furnished for all the great Ladyes and others if there be roome

(4) the Lord Chamberlaynes table in the great chamber for such Courtiers as pleaseth him to invite and certayne officers hussers etc.

(5) a Table furnished for all the Queen's maids } these 2 are
(6) a Table for all Wayting gentlewomen of great } also in the
Ladyes } great chamber

¹ MS B :—" eyther "

² MS B

- (7) a Table for the privy Counsell and other Lords in the Counsell Chamber
- (8) a Table for the Treasurer of the household and for such gentlemen as he will bidd
- (9) a Table for the contrroller of the household
- (10) the Cofrers table who keepeth the mony daily spent
- (11) the Clerqs of the green Cloaths Table who are of the Counsell of the howse
- (11), (12), (13) Tables for 3 Clarks of the Kitchen
- (14) the Master of the Horse Conte Essex a Table
- (15), (16) the 2 Secretaries of State each a Table
- (17) the Clarks of the Counsell and Clarks of signett and privy seale
- (18) the Chaplains table
- (19) the Deane of the Chapple a Table
- (20) the Master of the Jewill house a Table
- (21) a table for the gentlemen servers wayters and huissiers

All these Tables are plentifully furnished and all gentlemen and cheefe officers, unto all which tables any gentleman stranger, traviler or other of gentlemen like behavior may goe ordinarily unbidden and be wellcome.

There are 25 other Tables also for inferiour officers in every office as the Seller, Buttry, Pantry, Kitchens, 2 Spicery, Eury, Backhowse, Larder, Picherhouse, Chandery, Wafery, Confectionary, Lawndry, Bowling house,¹ Achatry, Poultry, Scaldinghowse, Pastry, Squillery, Woodyerd, Almonery, Porters, Musitions, and the Wardrobe at Robes, which are the principall, to all these any other stranger may goe unbidden and gentlemen if they please to sitt among yeomen.

These 47 Tables with their appartinances, together with the expences for the [stables]² which as ordinarily att the Cort for the Queen's horses of pleasure, have of long time bin allowed every yeere in 120,000¹ sterling, which is the third part of the whole revenue.

Item there is payd out of Exchequer yearly to officers for their wages and stipend both on the Corte and elsewhere as followed³

Inprimis to the Lord Chancellor and other officers of that Cort	1,585 ¹ 13 ^s 11 ^d
Item to the Lord Treasurer and officers of the Ex- chequer	3,538 13 11

¹ MS. B. :—"boylinghouse."

³ MS. B. :—"followeth."

² MS. B.

THE STATE OF ENGLAND, 1600 31

Item to the officers of the Court of Augmentacion for Abbay Lands	7,249 ¹	16 ^a	2 ^d
To the Chancelour of the Duchy of Lancaster and officers thereof	1,168	5	2
To the officers of the Courts of First Fruits and Tenthes	938	15	2 ¹
To the Master of the Wardes and officers of that Court	338	15	2 ²
To the Keeper of the Privy Seale and Clerks	365		
To the Lord Chief Justice and officers of the Kings Bench	688	10	9
To the Lord Chief Justice of the Pleas	657	10	7
To the Queen's lerned Counsell in the Lawe	289	6	8
To the Counsell and officers for the government of Wales	1,088	8	4
To the officers of the County Palatine of Lancaster	1,010	6	8
To the officers of the County Palatine of Chester	678	11	1
To the Justices of the Forests and officers	200		
To the Keeper of Whitehall	200		
To Secretaryes post and Courriers	1,108	13	4
To the Lords Admirall and officers of Admiralty	1,456	18	8
To the Master of the Ordnance and officers thereof	1,556	11	8
To the officers of the Armory	654	5	2
To the officers att Armes, Herald's,	809		20
To the officers of the Mynte	443	13	3
To the officers of the great Wardrobe	255	3	6
To the Chief Butteler of England	100		
To the officers of the Queen's Tents	79	13	2
To the officers of the Revells for sports players and comedyes	29	2	6
To the officers and ministers of Hunting	603	9	2
To the Ministers of Hawkinge	446	7	2
To Phisitions Surgeons Astronomers and Apothecaries	541	2	6
To the Queen's Bargemaster	119	11	5
To Artificers of all sorts which serve the Queen in their trade	432	19	3
To officers and servants of the Household	16,879	2	1
To the Keeper of Townes Castells and Fortresses	2,865	12	7
To the Keeper of her Howses Parks Forests and Chases	5,430	13	1
The whole sume of this since the last totall is	73,167	1	3

The extraordinary expence consisteth in buying her apparell, jewels and all other furniture necessary to such a Prince, buying of horses and armor, building and repaireing of ships and their furnitures, almes and privat guifts, presents and pensions and [in]³ expences of Warr.

¹ MS. B. :—" 938 2 4."

² MS. B. :—" 938 15 2."

³ MS. B.

For her Furniture, Jewells, Apparell, Coaches, Barges and such like, they are all very Royal, and one yeare with another she spendeth herein no less then 20,000

Building and repaireing of howses, castells, ships, and their furniture in time of peace costes her about 50,000¹ yerly

Her almes is not less ordinary then 2,000'
besides all such goods of such as murder themselves, which is given for almes and divers other things which are called deodands.

She hath been ever liberall till nowe of late in givinge and lending ; they say she giveth 3,000' yerly to the King of Scots, but they say it is for his fathers the Lord Darleys lands which he had in England, and so I thinke she has lent to the Lowe Countries since the warres began 300,000', which they nowe pay her by 30,000' a yeare, the King of France oweth her little less she hath spent as much of her owne in ayding eyther Country in their necessities.

Mr Sackford, that carried the privy purse, hath in his own account ordinarily every yeare accounted 4,000' which she giveth away in pretty things to strangers and such like as come to the Court for relief and rewards.

Her pleasures cost her much, as shewes, triumphs and such like, great mariages with any of her maids or Ladyes publiquely in the Court, and comedies, shewes, devises and entertainment of Ambassadors publicquely as I have seen divers vizt the Duke of Bullion who cost her every day 100', besides the charge of his solemne entertainment att her owne Table, likewise the Danish Ambassador and others of these. She spends ordinarily 5,000' yearly, and some time so much in a month, as occasion serve.

I come last of all to the greatest and archpoint of expence, videlicet, of warr in defendinge the realme and offendinge the enemyes of the same. I can say nothing of this for certayne, for that it is alwayes grounded upon uncertainty as cause and occasion is given, and therefore I must reason *ab effectu* and shewe what hath beene the ordinary expences thereof in this latter actions which wee have had with the Spanyard and Irish, letting goe the rest as not appartayning to the present.

First in 88, the preparacion to resist the termed invincible armado of Spayne ; there was a fleet sent to the sea of 140 sayle, and in all places and coasts in England souldiers mustered and trayned to the number of 100,000 and of them in pay att Tillbury campe 20,000.

¹ MS. B. :—" 5,000'."

The yeare following there was a fleete sent into Portugall with about 10,000 men to offend the King of Spayne and install ye King of Portugall, which had unforunate success.

In ye yeare 96 there was likewise a fleete of 100 sayle with 5,000 marriners and 20,000 land men ¹ sent to invade Spayne, when as it ² tooke ye Citty of Cadiz & burnt ye Kings fleete.

The yeare following there was an other fleet of as ³ little less cost and preparacion sent under the conduct of the Erle of Essex to invade the Islands and take the Spanish Treasure coming from the Islands, which tooke no great effect notwithstanding. Of these 2 late ⁴ voyages the Queen hath saved herself, but of ech of these the charge hath been little lesse then 100,000^l.

But the greatest of all is this last warr in Ireland, whereof the Establishment of the money which the Queen payes yeerly for the mayntenance thereof is as followes

Imprimis to the Lord Lieutenant x ^s sterling a day per annum	3,520
To the rest of the officers of the army 25 ^s a day per annum	13,127 ^s
For the entertainment of 1,300 horse men Captains and souldiers thereof	30,408 ^s
For the mantainance of 10,000 souldiers on foote, their Captains and officers, allowing evry Captain 4 ^s a day, Liefteenant 2 ^s 6 ^d a souldier 12 ^d	236, 405 ^s

This charge, if it should continue, would soone make her a poore Prince and a miserable Country, for this amounteth to neer as much as her whole revenue, but therefore she hath ben forced to doe this to sell Lands and reversions, and also to borrowe much money of her subiects, but it is not nowe continued att this charge since the Earle of Essex and the rest of the noble mens returne, besides to this charge the Country contributes every man according to his ability, else the Queen were not able to doe it of her owne.

The expence ordinary and extraordinary, besides the charge of warre one yeare with an other, amounteth to about

229,167^s sterlinge

So that the receipte being 348,587^s, there rested onely 119,420^s, wich is ordinarily employed in warres offensive or defensive, else lent to the aides of her allies; so that if she spares it one yeare or 2 she spends it all the 3^d and the divel may danse in her coffers, where he finds but a fewe crosses.

¹ MS. B. :—"soldiers."

² MS. B. :—"they."

³ "as" does not appear in MS. B.

⁴ MS. B. :—"later."

The All that hath been showed before is comon to warr
 Strength and peace, it remayneth to speake to what is proper to
 for Warr. Warr, and first for the strength of the Country. It is
 knowne to be by nature stronger then by art, being an Iland saving
 where it toucheth Scotland, as is shewed before.

There are none prest to the warres but onely the comon people
 and the artificer, and for Comanders such gentlemen or others as
 are knowne to have skill in martiall affayres.

The Comon souldiers that are sent out of the realme be of the
 basest and most unexperienced, the best being reserved to defend
 from invasion.

The sort of souldiers are footmen, [men] at arms, light horsmen,
 petronels and pioners

Their armor offensive for foote is pyke, long bowe, crosbowe,
 caliver, musket and bills of every sort, beside a sword and a dagger.

Defensive for pykemen, curasses from the thigh upward; bowe
 men, either coates of male or iacks, which are made of plates of iron
 quilted in canvas;

Musketiers and calivers, unarmed unless a capp ¹ of stele covered
 with a redd cap or a morren on his head.

The byll men in lyke sort as the harquebuse.

The men att armes armed from the knee upward with lance, case
 of pistols, sword and dagger etc. [ther horse a frontlet and the sadle
 plated, for fewe bard horse now in use.

The lyght horse man hath only his staff and pistols.

The petronell, a short harquebuse with a snapphanse to discharge
 with one hand.] ²

For the provision of armour every howseholder is charged to
 have in his howse, in a readiness, such armes as is appointed by
 the Commissioners, and there is no howseholder so poore that is
 not charged with some thing, [at least] ³ a bill, sword, or dagger, who
 soever he is, unless he be a begger.

There are in charge of the master of the ordinance throughout
 England, in the Towre of London and in all the Castells, Ports,
 Townes and other places, to the number of 7,000 cast peeces of Canon,
 Culverin and demi, besides an infinit number of other small peeces.

The Queen's store of all other kind of Amunition in the armoryes
 of the Tower of London, Westminster, Greenwich, Hampton Court,
 Windsor Castell, and other places, whereof the armors ³ Sir Henry

¹ MS. B. :—"suite."

² MS. B.

³ MS. B. :—"armory."

Lee hath charge, are accounted to be able to arme 100,000 foote and 20,000 horse, besides that which belongs to the towns and particular places.

In the last muster save one for preparacion against the Spanyard there were found fitt for warr 389,472 of comon souldiers

of these armed and trayned	185,312
of pioners	13,682
of great horses furnished	1,652
of light horses	16,400
peternells	21,040

besides the Queen's horses and the nobility, which are esteemed to be able [for]¹ horses to make as many more, and accounting all their serving men and followers, with the serving men of gentlemen, which are never prest to the warres, they are able to bring into the field 200,000 men horse and foot, which shall be all choise persons and excellent horses.

So that the whole force for warr by Land, which are ever ready if occasion requires leaving sufficient to till the Land and exempting all those specified before in the 20 leafe,² } 642,086
amonteth to the number of

Whereof [ther]¹ are mustred and trayned and alwayse att an howres warning about 80,000 foote and 16,000 horses of all sorts, which are divided into regiments and companyes and every man appoynted to what coast he shall repaire when there is any occasion.

The navy royall consisteth but of 36 great ships and
The force by sea. 13 or 14 pinases whose names follows hereafter with their burden ordinance mariners and souldiers.

	Burden	Mariners	Soldiers	Ordinance
Triumph	1000	340	130	30
Elisabeth Jonas	900	340	120	30
White Beare	900	340	120	30
St Matthew of Span	1000			
Victory	800	290	110	30
Arke Rawley	800	290	110	30
Due Repulse	800	290	110 ³	36
Defiance	700	250	100	30
Garland	700	250	100	25
Hope	650	175	76	25
St Andrew of Span	600			
Nonpareille	500	150	76	24

¹ MS. B.

² i.e. p. 16 here.

³ MS. B. .—"100."

36 THE STATE OF ENGLAND, 1600

Mary Rose	500	150	76	24
Lyon	500	150	76	24
Elizabeth	500	150	76	24
Honor of the Sea	500	150	76	24
Warrs despight	500	150	76	24
Vanguard	500	150	76	24
Rainbowe	500	150	76	24
Dreadnought	160 ¹	120	40	24
Swiftzure	360	120	40	24
Antelope	350	120	30	20
Swallowe	350	120	20	20
Foresight	160 ²	110	20	20
Crane	200	90		
Ayde	200	90	14	16
Quittance	200	90		
Jennett	200	90	[14] ³	[16] ³
Tigar	160	80	8	12
Bull	160	80	8	12
Scout	120	55	7	8
Thramontane	120	55	7	8
Acates	100	45	7	8
Trulove	160	70	8	
Lyons Whelpe	100	45		
Galley Bonaventure		200	270	8
Charles	70	36	38	4
Moone	60	34	35	4
Makeshift	35	31	35	4
Spy	35	31	24	4
Sunne	40	20	24	4
Trust	30	20	20	4
Brigandyne	30	18	35	2
George		33	20	2
Greyhound		16	10	4
Handmaid		10		
Advice				
Signett				

The whole navy of the Queen consisting of no greater number, it may be wondered att that she should be counted so stronge by sea that no other Prince is able to match her, but the reason is plain that though this fleet be of great strength yett it is not the 20 part of the strength of England, for unto the very one Ryver of Thames

¹ MS. B. :—" 460."

² MS. B. :—" 260."

³ MS. B.

there belong 2,000 ships, the worst [wherof] ¹ is serviseable both for fight and merchandise. What then may be thought doth belong to so many great haven Townes as England is bordered withall on every side and some other Rivers as great as Thames, navigable further up into the Land, as Humber, Trent and Severne. This may well be coniectured by this, that when there was a fleet of 240 shippes of war sent into Spayne and 4 other fleet of merchants to the Levant, to Russe, Barbary and Bordeaux, all att one time abroad, yett should you never see the Thames betwixt London Bridge and Blackewall, 4 English miles in length, without 2 or 300 shippes or vessells, besides the infinite number of men of warr that then were and ever are roving abroad to the Indyces and Spanish Dominions to gett purchase, as they call it, whereby a number grow rich.

The hand- The matters belonging to Estate consist either in the
linge of politicall government or administracion of justice.
matters of The policy is either general or particular & againe
Estate. either apparant or secrett thirdly forraigne or domes-
ticall.

The Lawes are municipall and little according with the Civill or any other save for ye matter of inheritance of land it followeth those of Normandy. The rest of the ancient Lawes were made by Edward the Confessor before the conquest and yett not [*sic*] force, but being not very beneficiall to the Princes proffit by little and little they are brought out of use, and newe statuts daily made according to every occasion, whereby the lawes of England alter lyke the moone and for the antient positive lawe it altered ² not in word but according to the iudges interpretacion.

The Princes The Prince hath no authority to make lawes nor to
privileges dispose of the Crowne, that must be done by general
consent of all in parliament ; yea, the King's eldest sonne,
though the Kingdoms be hereditary, shall not be crowned without the consent of the parliament after the death of his father. His priviledges be to make warr or peace, to create and choose the principall magistrates and officers throughout the whole kingdome unless in cytties and Towns, and to determinne their offices when he pleases ; for noe officer of Court or Justice hath his place by inheritance, nor for longer time then *durante beneplacito reginae*, unless the sheryffes, which are onely for a yeare. [To] ¹ pardon and give lyfe to the condemned or to take away the life or member of any subiect at her pleasure, and none other in all ye Kingdom hath power of

¹ MS. B.

² MS. B. :—"altereth."

life and member but onely the Prince, noe not so much as to imprison or otherwise to punish any other, unless it be his servant, without expresse comission from the Queen.

Policies Policies particuler and apparant, some differing from apparant other Countreyes and some concordng, are either for for benefitt. benefitt or security.

For benefite are these, and such like to these which followe, whereof I will, to avoid teadiousness, touch some of the principall ; divers streight Lawes for the mayntainance of Tillage throughout the land, which otherwhise would be converted to sheepe pasture, this also increseth men for defence where as by sheepe pasture a whole country may be kept by 2 or 3 shepheards without more men. 2 divers other Lawes for the preservacion of fishinge and keeping of 3 dayes in the weeke in eating fish, to the end that, there being much abundance of fish the land encompassd round with the sea and plentifull in rivers, the sparing of fleshe the sayd 3 daies flesh may also abound asmuch.

The keeping people from idlenes by erecting in every shire houses of corection to sett idle people on worke, whereby they are forced to earne their livings, and much more, and the restrayning of beggers, for if he is able to work he is taken into one of these howses, if not into an hospitall, or else hath license given him to beg and crave the devocion of well disposed people by Commissioners which have authority, by aparence of their impotency, soe to doe.

The keeping low of the Clergy from being over rich, for that order of men have most damnified England by their profuse spending upon their pleasures, and upon idle serving men and other moth-wormes which depended upon them and eat the fatt of the land and weare no way profitable ; for it is not long since you should not ryde nor goe through Country or Towne but you should meete such troopes of this preests retinue as exceeded 100 or 200 of these caterpillers, neither fit for warr nor other service, attending upon this pontificall crue, furnished and appoynted in the best manner that might be ; but since their winges were clipt shorter they hold opinion that England hath floreshed more.

The cause that hath made the yeomanry in England so great I cannot rightly call a policie, because it was no matter invented and sett downe by authoritye for the betteringe of that state of people, but rather by the substelty of them and simplicity of gentlemen ; for the yeomanry and mean people being servants and vassalls

to the gents, who ar the possessors and lord of the lands and lordships and could not occupy all their lands themselves, but placed farmers therein, att a time when by reason of the great warres money was scarce, and all things else cheape, and so lands lett att a small rent, the yeomen and farmers told the gentlemen, their landlords, that they could not be at so great charges to manure and inclose and improve their grounds, and repaire and reedify their houses ruined by warr, unless they would lett them the sayd land, for some time; and if they would soe doe, and at a smaller rent, they would pay them some peece of money for a fyne, and so much money yearly. The gentlemen, improvident of what should come after, and gladded to have money in hands, did lett unto the said farmers all their Lands and Lordships (saving their dwelling) after the rate aforesaid, some for 30, some 40 and some 50 some 200¹ yeares; soone after the King, by reason of the want of money, altered the coyne and caused that which was before but 6^d to goe for xii^d, and after that agayne lessened it as much more, so that he that was wont to pay² but 3^d, which though it were all one in valew yett hereby it came to pass that he which payd before 1 pound waight in silver for his farme, payed now but a quarter, and the yeoman att that time havinge most money, carrying it to the Mynt, had for every pound 4, paying for the minting, and the King besides gott a great mass of money by his said mynt. This device, and then the prise of corne, cattell and all farmers' Comodities increasing daily in prise, and the gentleman who is generally enclined to great and vayne expence had no more then would keepe his howse and some small rent, and therefore could not spend away prodigally much of the welth of the land bycause he hath no superfluity, & the baser sort, which by this meanes had gott the wealth had never the inclinacion to spend much, aproved the verse to be true *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, and so began England so rich; but since these long leases are growne to expire the gentlemen by this beginne to be warr how to be so overreched. Notwithstandinge, some report that this was not done without the pollicy of the King, who by this meanes weakened the ability of his nobility and thereby clipped the wings of their insolencys.

There are divers other polices to inrich the merchants and artificers by statute and lawes made for their benefitts, for which they give the prince a great sume of money and yearly rent and also gett them great welth, whereby to be more able to contribute to

¹ MS. B. :—" 100."

² MS. B. :—" payd "

the subsidys, taxes and warres, as to a certaine Companye of Merchants to Trade into such a part of the World and for such and such Comodities, to an other Company an other, the 3^d a 3^d, and so many Companies by licence under the great seal of England and prohibiting all others save such a Company or such particuler persons, whereby a fewe getting the Trade but of some contry or comodity, which themselves thinkes best to sue for, in a short time become verry rich. For the benefitt of artisanes and other Trades there are divers statutes, as the statutes prohibiting any thinge wrought in metall to be brought into the Land, whereby the more excellling workmanship of strangers therein may not put English workemen out of request nor take their Trade and benefitt from them ; and that statute that no stranger, neither master nor prentise, may be of divers Trades as workers in metall, tanner, boyers¹ and such like, and for fishmongers that no stranger may bring any fish into our coasts, especially Herings, nor Englishmen buy them out of strangers' ships, that thereby the fishermen may have utterance for their fishe, and also for their encrease of fishermen, which may after, if occasion serve, be employed in the Queenes ships in time of warr ; but that confederacion of those statutes belongeth rather to Policy which concerns security and defence of the Realme.

They have one pollicy which all the world cryes out of which, notwithstanding, is but newe and lerned from the Hollanders : videlicet, to desire to continue in warres with Spayne, and Enmity with some other Countreyes ; that haveing so great store of shipping marriners and force by sea, which otherwise would ly idle and deay,² by this in robbing and takeing purchase by sea they doe greatly enrich the Queen, the Admirall and themselves ; for the Queene hath the halfe, the Admirall the xth, and themselves the rest ; and also doe thereby encrease both in skill and in number. It is incredible what treasure hath been brought into England by prize and from the Indyees with in this 12 or 16 yeares.

By reason there is little store of silver and gold mynes in the land, and those which be are not sought for nor tryed, therefore as is well knowne to all that have travelled thither, that it is not lawfull for any man to carry any gold or silver out of the realme without speciall favour and lycense ; and that is obtayned by fewe or none save onely xl shillings, unless some travellers which upon sute may have lycense to carry so much as will conveniently bear

¹ MS. B. :—" copers ? "

² MS B. :—" decay "

their charges according to their Estates to the places where they goe. Now this is a great benefitt to the Queen, for the infinite number of strangers, and our owne merchants that daily bringe in mighty somes of forraigne Coyne, all which cometh as bullion to the minte to be newe minted, whereof the Queen hath the 20th part, besides the officers' fees, and where so much is brought in & little or none carried out in respect there must needs be great store of Treasure, besides the benefite which merchants gett for exchanging, which is not a little.

Polices for security The first and chiefest is that supreme and awfull authority wich the Prince hath over all subiects great apparant. & mean, noe man, not the greatest in the whole land, haueing more authority then the meanest but as he deriveth it from the Prince by Commission, and thereby none able to make a head but where the Princes name goeth, nor daring to resist the Princes Comandement, the Constitucion of the lawe haueing bred such a naturall obedience in all; unless some upon presumption of her favour boroweth a little, which he will surely pay clearly for if he have any secrett enemyes to urge against him, and to make the Queene looke through a payre of spectacles & make the fault seeme greater then it is, as hath been lately approved in the actions of some of the greatest.

There are some good Lawes made to avoid emulation amongst noblemen and gentlemen and also factions which are to tedious to repeat.

The maine pointe is the weakening of the domestically enemyes, for where as the land is devided into 4 sorts of persons vizt. 1 religious protestants 2 politick protestants 3 religious papists 4 politike papists, the first whereof were only found to be sure to the state, the other 3 dangerous, they have for the diminishing & weaking of these 3 later made lawes that every man that hath voice in the Parliament or any state of possession in the land shall take his corporall oath for the mayntainance of the religion now established, and never consent to the altering thereof, nor admitting of any successor which shall inclyne to the contrarye; now where¹ the politike protestant did favour the papist for fear of alteration of this religion as one that places his *summum bonum* in this life, and therefore to yt onely hath regard, and whereas the politick papist in lyke sort hoped for the alteration of this religion, by this meanes both the feare and hope is so cutt of that the number of

¹ MS B. :—" wheras."

these 2 sorts is much diminished, and daily doth decrease. For the last sorte they have bereaved them of a great part of their living, the Queene taking their Landes and letting them to whom she pleased,¹ thereby to take from them the power and comand of their men and tenants, and besides leaveth them neither armes offensive nor defensive that cann do any great hurt, and for their persons confineth them to certaine places which they must not pass without licence, to avoyd conventicles and devesing amongst themselves, and these ² that have no lands nor will yeld to become confirmable they are either imprisoned or banished.

There is no person neither stranger nor subiect that may depart out of the realme without licence of the Queene or the Privy Counsell or the Warden of the Cincq ports, nor enter without being examined by Commissioners for that purpose in every port Towne, whereby few dangerous persons for practise against the Country can depart, and for the rest it skilleth not; besides all the letters that are carried out are opened and read, onles they be such as they suspect not; and such as are brought in ar sealed up by the officers of the port, and sent by the Lord Warden by an other trusty messenger, by cause there have beene found letters of practice and Treason which have beene brought by badd persons directed in the back side to privy Counsellors, which letters notwithstanding were to be delivered to papists and other badd members.

They suffer very fewe to be acquainted with matters of state for feare of divulging it, whereby their practises are subiect to be revealed, and therefore they will suffer fewe to rise to places of reputation that are skillfull or studious of matters of pollicy, but holde them lowe and farre of soe that the greatest politicians that rule most will not have about them other then base penn clarkes, that can do nothing but write as they are bidden, or some mecanicall dunce that cannot conceive his Master's drifts and polices, for if they have Lynces eyes they must looke into their actions. This was first brought by the old Threasurer of whom it was written that he was like an aged tree that lett's none growe which neer him planted bee, and it is well followed by his sonne at this day and by other that are *eiusdem farinae*.

In all great offices and places of charge they doe allwayse place 2 persons of contrary factions and that are bredd of such causes, or growne to such greatness, as they are ever irreconcilable, to the end, each having his enemyes eye to overlooke him, it may make

¹ MS. B. :—"pleaseth."

² MS. B. :—"those."

him looke the warilier to his charge, and that if any body should incline to any unfaithfulnesse in such charges of importance as concerne the publicque safety, it might be spied before it be brought to any dangerous head ; which cannot be done all at once without many precedent actions conducing thereunto, whereof some must needs be perceived by a watchfull enemy, then which nothing is more vigilant and pearcing. This is seene alwayse in ye Towre, the place of most trust, where the Lieftenant and Stuard, Master of the Ordnance and Lieftenant of the same, have been ever in my remembrance vowed enemyes, and this is too apparent in the Deputyes of Ireland & Govnor of Munster att this time and heretofore.

They are perswaded, according to the opinion of the Lacedemonians, that fortifying of towns doth more hurt then good to their preservacion, in that it makes the people either cowardly or revolting, and besides if the Enemy land and gaine them, nothing more damageable ; it is true that before these newe devises of artillerie and such like of that kind, sanpices, petars, rammes and such like, there were many strong Townes in England after the manner of strength wee accounted in those daies, but since no force is found able to withstand the subtilty of man's invention they are not of the opinion that walles and fortifications can helpe them, but that the best fortifications is on the fortitude and faythfulness of subjects' hearts.

INDEX

A

- Arabella Stuart, claims the succession to the throne, 2, 6.
Arundel, the Earl of, 22.

B

- Beauchamp, Lord, claims the succession to the throne, 2, 6
Bishops, sees of in England, 11 ;
sees of in Ireland, 15 ; revenues of, 22 ; their sees left vacant, 22, 27 ; courts of, 25.
Botero, Giovanni, 16
Bullion, none mined in England, 10 ; much brought in by privateers, 40 ; laws against the export of, 40-41.
Burleigh, Lord, profits of from the Court of Wards, 28 ; secretive methods, 42.

C

- Castles, abandoned for pleasant houses, 12 ; those maintained by the Queen, 13 ; those in the north and west kept fortified, 14.
Catholics, laws against, 41-42.
Cecils, the, v, 42.
Citizens, the state of, 20 ; their powers of self-government, 21.

- Clergy, exempt from musters, 16 ; the state of, 22 ; not rack-renters, 22-23 ; impoverished by courtiers, 23 ; taxes paid by, 27 ; former luxury of, 38.

- Coke, Sir Edward, income of, 25.
Copyholders, the state of, 19-20.
Correction, houses of, 38.
Cottagers, the state of, 19-20.
Court, the expenses of, 29 ff.
Crown, the succession to, 2 ff. ; a corporation, 7 ; the powers of, 37-38.
Currency, the debasement of, 39.

D

- Deans, the revenues of, 22.
Derby, the Earl of, claims the succession to the throne, 3, 6.
Douglas. *See* Scotland.
Draganza, the Duke of, claims the succession to the English throne, 4.

E

- England, an independent monarchy, 1 ; succession to the crown of, 2 ff. ; dimensions of, 9 ; commodities of, 10 ; provinces and towns of, 11-12 ; castles of, 12-13 ; relations with neighbouring

countries, 14; population of, 16; social classes in, 17 ff.; revenue and expenditure of government of, 26-33; army of, 34; navy of, 35-36; laws of, 37; policies of, 38 ff.
 Essex, the Earl of, 4, 17; knights of, 23; in Ireland, 33.

F

Fishing, laws for the preservation of, 38, 40.
 France, king of, claims the succession to the English throne, 5; foreign policy of, 14; trade in stockings to, 20; in debt to Elizabeth, 32.

G

Gavelkind, 24.
 Gentlemen, own castles, 13; exempt from musters, 16; improved estate management by, 18; number and state of, 23-24; state of the younger brothers of, 24; former simplicity in business matters, 38.
 Germany, friendly to England, 14; taxation in, 29.

H

Henry VIII, the will of, 8-9; Ireland under, 18. *See* England.
 Hospitals, 38.
 Huntington, the Earl of, claims the succession to the throne, 3, 6.

I

Ireland, dimensions of, 10; commodities of, 11; attitude to England, 14; counties,

towns, and bishoprics of, 15; population of, 16-17; nobility of, 18; expenses of war in, 33.

J

James VI, King of Scotland. *See* Scotland.
 John, King, his surrender of England to the Pope invalid, 2.

K

Kent, 24.
 Knights, the number and state of, 23.

L

Lawyers, exempted from musters, 16; the state of common, 24-25; the state of civil, 25.
 London, the wealth of the merchants of, 21; the wealth of the neighbouring gentry, 24.
 Low Countries, friendly to England, 14; debt to Elizabeth, 32.

M

Merchants, the wealth of, 20-21; policies for fostering, 40.
 Musters, 16, 35.

N

Nobility, own castles, 13; exempt from musters, 16; names and precedence of English, 17; revenues of Irish, 18; revenues of English, 22; laws to avoid emulation among, 41.
 Northumberland, the Earl of, claims the succession to the throne, 3.
 Norwich, wealth of the merchants in, 20.

O

Oxford, the Earl of, 22.

P

Parma, the Duke of, claims the succession to the English throne, 4, 5.

Pembroke, the Earl of, testifies that Henry VIII's will was forged, 9.

Pollard, Professor A. F., v.

Pope, the claim of to be the overlord of England, 2.

Portugal, the Prince of, claims the succession to the English throne, 4.

Prices, the changes in the level of, 49.

R

Requests, Master of, 26.

S

Scotland, 29; James VI of claims the succession to the English throne, 2, 5, 6 ff.; not a foreign country, 8; defences against, 14; attitude to England, 14; taxation in, 29; payments to the king of, 32.

Seymour, Henry, claims the succession to the throne, 2.

Shipping, naval, 35-36; merchant, 37; war desired to provide employment for, 40.

Spain, King and Infanta of claim the succession to the English throne, 5; defences

against, 14; 'the capital enemy of England,' 14; expeditions against, 33; war against desired to provide employment for shipping, 40.

Stuart. *See* Arabella, James VI, England and Scotland.

T

Tillage, laws for the maintenance of, 38.

W

War, methods of recruitment for, 16, 20; England's strength in, 16, 34-35; desired to provide employment for shipping, 40.

— civil, 3, 5, 6, 12.

Wards, Court of, 28, 31.

Westmorland, the Earl of, claims the succession to the throne, 3.

Wilson, Dr. Thomas, 21 n., 26 n.

— Sir Thomas, his career, v, vi, 24.

— — his views on English politics and social economy, vi, vii, 37-43.

— — his printed and manuscript writings, v-vii.

— — plan of this treatise, i, 10, 16, 21, 29.

Y

Yeomanry, the decay of, 18; the number and state of, 19; former gains at the expense of the gentry, 38-39.

DISCOURS OF THE TURKES
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INTRODUCTION

The fame of Thomas Sherley, the eldest of the three sons of Sir Thomas Sherley of Wiston, Sussex, has been almost entirely overshadowed by that of his brothers Anthony and Robert.¹

He was born at Wiston about the year 1564. In 1579 he was sent, together with his brother Anthony, to Hart Hall, Oxford, but left without taking his degree.

In 1586 both these brothers were present at the cavalry skirmish before Zutphen in which Sir Philip Sidney was mortally wounded. In 1589 Thomas was knighted while serving under Sir William FitzGerald in Ireland. In 1591 he secretly married Frances, the daughter of Thomas Vavasour of Hazelwood in the county of York, much to the annoyance of Queen Elizabeth, whose sanction he, as attending the Court, should have obtained. As a result he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. In 1593 we hear of him again in the Netherlands as a captain of three hundred horse under Lord Willoughby. It is interesting to note here that in 1587 Sir Thomas Sherley the elder had been appointed Treasurer at War in the Low Countries. This job, however, was a most hazardous one, and his bad administration in the office coupled with his own private debts finally brought the family estate to ruin.

The pitiable state of their father's finances was, no doubt, the chief reason why all three Sherley brothers continually thought fit to try their fortunes abroad. In 1598 Anthony and Robert set out for Italy under the auspices of the Earl of Essex, and soon afterwards Thomas embarked for Portugal on a voyage of mercantile adventure with four ships, two of which were his own. Although he did not return till June, 1602, he achieved nothing at all;

¹ The most complete account of the three brothers hitherto published is *The Sherley Brothers*, by E. P. Shirley, printed for the Roxburghe Club, Chiswick, 1848.

nevertheless, he immediately set out again, with three ships and five hundred soldiers, with the object of attacking the Turks.

Of his many misfortunes and adventures, culminating in his capture and imprisonment by the Turks, I need not speak here, but would refer the reader to the anonymous *The Three Brothers; or, the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, etc.* (London, 1825).¹

The Three Brothers quotes at length from a very rare little book entitled *The Three English Brothers*, by Anthony Nixon, which gives a very full account of Thomas's adventures down to the time of his imprisonment in Turkey. This book, of which the British Museum copy is the only one known to exist, was published in London in 1607, and it is quite certain that Nixon could not have invented the whole of this detailed narrative, the accuracy of which is, moreover, often borne out by contemporary records, and one can only presume either that Nixon received his information by word of mouth from Thomas, or that Thomas placed in Nixon's hands a written narrative of his own. Nixon himself gives no indication of his sources, and the question must remain unsolved.

According to Nixon, Thomas spent four months as a prisoner in Negropont, whence he was transferred to Constantinople, which he reached after a painful journey in August, 1603, and there he was confined in a most wretched prison till his release on December 5th, 1605.

After his release he took the opportunity of exploring the city in which he had so long resided as a captive. On February 15th, 1606, he at last set out on a Ragusan ship bound for Gallipoli and Naples, and travelling thence by easy stages through Italy and Germany reached England at the end of that year.

The text now printed for the first time represents the notes he kept in Constantinople and on his homeward journey. They are preserved in a unique and apparently autograph manuscript now in the Library of Lambeth Palace. The allusion in the text to an Imperial Diet which was due to take place on April 23rd of the following year is important as giving the date of Thomas Sherley's manuscript. On October 19th, 1606, news was received in England of a proposal to call a Diet at Ratisbon on April 21st, 1607; actually this Diet was postponed until January 12th, 1608. It is thus

¹ See also an article by myself in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VII, Pt. 2, 1934.

evident that Thomas completed his account very soon after his return to England, i.e. between October 1606 and April 1607.

Of Thomas Sherley's subsequent career we know very little. From the public records we learn that in 1607 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of attempting to interfere with the Levant trade, but was shortly afterwards released. He had learnt a great deal about the Turks, as he shows in his narrative, and it was perhaps only natural that when he arrived in London he should have wished to turn his knowledge to practical account, and to this end began to work against the monopoly of the Levant Company—just as his brother Robert twenty years later was involved in designs which threatened the exclusive trade of the East India Company in Persia.

In 1611 he was held prisoner in the King's Bench on account of his father's debts. We hear little of him after this, beyond the fact that he represented the borough of Steyning in Parliament in 1615, and that on December 2nd, 1617, he married as his second wife Judith Taylor, a widow, by whom he had eleven children. He seems to have lived at Wiston until 1622-3, when this manor was finally alienated to pay off the family debts.

Thomas now moved with his family to the Isle of Wight, where he spent the rest of his life. He lived at Cosham House in Newport, where three of his children were born. He apparently held the office of Keeper of the Royal Park (i.e. Parkhurst Forest), whose duties consisted of levying and collecting monies due to the Crown from those who turned their beasts into the Forest.

Mr. Francis Bamford of Sandown, who is editing the Journal of Sir John Oglander of Ryde, Isle of Wight, has very kindly sent me the following references to Thomas Sherley which occur therein :

"Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston in Sussex, kinsman to the Earl of Leicester, who was knighted at the Battle of Zutphen where Sir Philip Sidney was slain, having sold Wiston, married a whore and spent all, came to end his days miserably in our Island. He lived at Cosham in Newport.

I lent to Sir Thomas Shirley, knight, on a feather-bed, a bolster and a rug

. . . £4-0-0

To his lady, after his death, on 6 spoons

. . . £2-0-0.

I lend them my money freely and ever have done. When they want they always repair to me as his kinsman and friend : yet I knew him

to be so ill a paymaster that I was forced to make him honest by taking a pawn for my money."

The Oglander Journal gives no dates to these entries, but the one in which Thomas's death is referred to was, Mr. Bamford thinks, probably written in the spring of 1632.

The existence of the Lambeth manuscript was known to the anonymous author of *The Three Brothers*, who tells us that an application he made to the Librarian for permission to transcribe it was refused "on the ground that a bookseller must have an object of profit in view in making such a request." Fortunately more liberal views are to-day entertained by librarians, and I have to express my grateful thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his learned Librarian, Dr. Claude Jenkins, for permission to copy and publish Thomas Sherley's journal.

No justification is, I think, needed for the publication of this document, for though it contains nothing that is new for the historian, it constitutes a valuable addition to the comparatively rare accounts written by Englishmen of Turkey at a moment when the activities of the East India Company were beginning to affect the Levant merchants, of Germany on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, and of the political conditions then prevailing in Italy. His description of the cities he visited is sufficiently vivid to challenge comparison with a modern guide-book.

Thomas Sherley, like his two more famous brothers, was endowed with keen powers of observation and an aptitude for obtaining accurate information on contemporary events. His description of Turkish manners and customs, and incidentally of recent happenings in the Ottoman Empire, is amazingly accurate, in view of the short period of liberty that he spent in Constantinople. One would have imagined that his unpleasant experiences at the hands of the Turks would have made him anxious to escape the country without delay, and one cannot help wondering what prompted him to keep, as he obviously did, such careful notes. One is also led to ask why he should have taken the trouble to prepare his journal without attempting to publish it.

That a man, the eldest son of a noble house connected with the highest in the land, who had such powers of endurance and such high intelligence, should have achieved neither wealth nor fame, and should have remained a permanent defaulter, is hard to explain. We only know that throughout his life he was crippled

by debts accumulated first by his father and afterwards by himself.

Of the man himself there is unfortunately nothing to be learned from this little book, which contains no personal allusion beyond the mention of his occasional entertainment by foreign princes.

The text has been reproduced exactly as it stands in the original manuscript. Footnotes have been sparingly introduced, and only such place-names have been explained as might give rise to doubt. No attempt has been made to develop historical information. With regard to the language it has not appeared necessary to explain Elizabethan English to readers of the Camden Series.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks for assistance received from Dr. Saxl, Dr. Gertrud Bing and Dr. Buchthal of the Warburg Institute, Miss Elizabeth Symes and Miss Peggy Jacobson.

E. DENISON ROSS.

DISCOURS OF THE TURKES

BY S^R. THO: SHERLEY

(f. 1) There are towē sortes of Turkes, the naturall Turke & the renegadoe.

The naturall Turke had his originalle in Scithia, not farre from the Caspian Sea; & they wer then & haue euer sins bynne the moste inhumane of all other barbarians. Plinie in the seconde chapiter of his seauenthe booke nameth them Turaces. Theyse Turaces (nowe named Turkes) beinge manye in number, & theyre cuntrye extream colde and barreyne, did cum, with a greate & disordred violens into the lesser Asia in the yeere of our redemption 808 or there aboutes,¹ & slewe & chased awaye all the inhabitantes (whoe at that time wer Sarasens), & tooke bothe theyre cuntrye & religion; & soe began to bee of the erronious & deuilshe secte of Mehemett, whiche is the moste opposite to a Christian of all others. For the idolater is soe blinde (f. 1^d) that hee seeth noe kinde of religion but onelye doeth knowe (by a naturall instincte) that this immens & wonderfull frame of the woorld can not bee guided without somme idola, & therefore hee doeth knowe that there is a God; but what definition to make of him hee knoweth not, yett woulde bee gladde to learne yf anye bodye woulde take the paynes to teache him.

The Jewe hee buildeth his faythe vpon the lawe of Moses & the prophettes, & though hee denye that Christe is alreadye cum in the fleshe, yett hee looketh for him to bee of the seede of Dauid borne in Bethelem, & hopeth to bee saued by him when hee cummeth.

The Turke doeth absolutelye denye him bothe by & mayne, &

¹ This can only refer to the first collisions between the Arabs and Turks in Transoxiana.

sayeth that there can bee noe sutche thinge (f. 2) as the sonne of God; for God (saye they) hathe noe woman & therefore neyther hathe, ne can haue, anye sonne.

Theyre mannor of liuinge in priuate & in generalle is moste vnciuille & vicious; & firste, for theyre vices they are all pagans & infidelles, Sodomittes, liars, & drunkardes, & for theyre Sodomerye they vse it soe publicquelye & impudentelye as an honest Christian woulde shame to companye with his wyffe as they doe with theyre buggeringe boyes. Theyre pride is not to bee described with toungue nor pen, for it doeth soe farre excede all arrogancye that euer was in Alexander the Greate, Nebudgadnezar or Silla or anye other powde man that euer was yett written of, that Tullye his eloquens nor Virgil his poesye (yf hee wer aliue) wer not able to expresse it; for they scorne all men, & that in moste base, vilde & contemptible mannor, as appereth by the enterteynement that (f. 2^d) they giue to all Christian Embassadors sent by anye Christian prince to the Greate Turke. His firste enterteynement is to bee respected as the Embassador of an infidell, for soe the Turkie woorde *gaure*¹ signifieth. Then hee muste not bee admitted to the Greate Turke his presens without kysinge of the seme of his vesture, & to this hee muste adde the giuinge him a presente in that kinge his name that sente him, whyche the Turke esteemeth a tribute & homage of superioritye acknoweledged to him; neyther is anye Embassador admitted anye more to the Greate Turke his presens after the firste audiens vntille hee take his laste leaue of him, & is forced to make all his negociationes to him duringe his abode in (f. 3) Constantinople by petitions written, whyche the Turkes call an *arze*,² & these petitiones are to bee deliuered to him as hee rydeth by the waye, as thoughe a beggar wer to begge an almes of him. To this *arze* the Greate Turke writeth to his Visiere Bashawe a kinde of commaundement (whyche the Turkes call a *hotte mahum*)³ in this sorte: bycause sutche a kinge hathe sued (by his Embassador) for sutche a thinge (naminge the contentes of his petition) to our imperiale stirroppe, wee (in our imperiale greatenes) are contented to graunte him his requeste, and doe thou aunsweare him accordinglye. The Ffrenche &

¹ *gaaur*, from the Persian *gabr* or *gaur*, = fire-worshipper, hence from the Islamic standpoint, pagan or infidel.

² The Arabic '*arz*', still in common use for a petition throughout the Muslim East.

³ *Khatt-i-humāyūn*, the imperial writing.

Venetians doe mutche scorne this kinde of vsadge, but are both forced to beare in reason of state, for the Frenche kinge holdeth this Turkie league especiallye to make a scarrecrowe of it agaynst Spayne, & the Venetians are constreyned to it for theyre owne sauffetye (f. 3^d). Bycause theyre possessions in Sclauonye¹ bordereth vpon the Turke, & they haue allreadye loste to him Cyprus, Scodra, Negroponte, Thessalonica, Modona,² Gio,³ Corinthe, & manye other places of greate importans in Macedonia & Epire; and beside, the citye of Venis receaueth his cheyffe sustenans for corne out of the Turke his cuntries (thoughe it bee donne by stealthe), for noe Venetian shippe maye lade corne by theyre articles, yett they doe it daylye, bycause without the helpe that they haue from thens they shoulde bee forced to sende into the east cuntries for grayne, whyche wer as longe a voyadge from Venis as from Englande to Brasile, bycause they muste passe soe manye seas, as the Venetian Gulfe, all the reste of the Mediteranean Sea, to the Streightes of Gibaltare, from thens they are to passe the ocean, & soe (f. 4) by Englande & Scottelande, et cetera.

Nowe nexte after theyre pride followeth theyre crueltye, in whiche theyre kinges exceed Nero, Caligula, or anye other tyraunte what soeuer; & this man (or rather boye) that nowe reyneth⁴ doeth farre excede all his auncestors in blooddye delighes, & taketh greate pleasure to see men putt to deathe. For theyre falsehoode, breache of promis, & liinge, they holde that an hyghe and commendable virtue, for they saye yf a man speake what hee thinketh his purposes wyll often bee prevented, & yf a Musselman⁵ begin once to performe what hee promiseth hee wyll streyghte becum a Christian, & where hee entendeth moste mischeyff there hee wyll speake fayrest. They are by theyre lawe forbydden wyne, & yett they are drunkeardes beyonde anye nation that euer I sawe. Theyre lodginge & sittinge in theyre houses, (f. 4^d) with theyre mannor of feedinge, is liker dogges then men, for they vse neyther table, stoole, nor bed, but doe sitte vpon the grounde, with a carpett vnder them, & when they sleepe they lye vpon a matteras on the grounde. But fewe of them arriue to that curiositey, & when they eate theyre meate is sett before them on the grounde, & they teare theyre meate & breade with theyre handes and teethe, neyther vsinge

¹ Slavonia. ² Modon, a Venetian maritime colony in Southern Greece.

³ Gio = Chios = Scio.

⁴ Ahmad I (1603-17) was fourteen years of age when he came to the throne.

⁵ Faythefull beleuer [*Author's Note*].

knife nor trencher ; & all theyre spoone meate (whyche is theyre cheyffe foode) they eate with woodden spoones, euen the verye best of them, the Greate Turke himself.

Touchinge theyre iustis, that is the moste ordinari merchaundise that is boughte & solde emongest them ; for firste, the Greate Turke selleth all his offices (f. 5) and gouernementes to sutche bashawes as wyll giue moste for them, and as the Visier ¹ Bashawe sitteth euen in iudgement yf an other bashawe offer the Greate Turke neuer soe little more then hee giueth for his place, the tiraunt wyll presentelye sende & cutt of his heade without anye farther circumstans. Soe hee dyd to Mustaffa Bashawe the laste of December 1604, & to Hassan Bashawe in September 1605. All these bargaynes are made by the Sultanas ² that are married to bashaws. I haue in 33 monethes (that I was prisoner in Constantinople) seene the ruine of nyne Visiere Bashawes. By this maye easelye bee coniectured what kinde of iustis a man maye fynde emongest the Turkes, for where the iudge payeth deare for his place hee can not sell iustis good cheape, neyther wyll hee, the Visier Bashawe hauinge (f. 5^d) all iudgement in his owne breste, aboute the rigor of lawe. They are all vtterlye vnlearned, for hee is esteemed a greate schollar emongest them that can reade and write Turkishe, & in Turkye they haue none other bookes but theyre Alcoran, & certayne annotationes and commentes made on yt, or somme abrydgement taken out of it.³

The renegadoes are for the moste parte roagues, & the skumme of people, whyche beinge villanes and atheistes, vnable to liue in Christendomme, are fledde to the Turke for succoure & releyffe, & of these are most of his bashawes made.⁴

Theyre militia is nowe quite loste & weakened, bycause the arrogante pride of this younge boye kinge and the dissolute negligens of his three predecessors, Selim, Amurathe, and (f. 6) Mehemet,⁵ haue caused the Turkes to loose that awefull respect whiche they vsed to beare to theyre kinges in former tymes, & the heade beinge

¹ The cheyffe [*Author's Note*].

² Sultanas are ladyes of the Greate Turke his bloodde (*Author's Note*).

³ The Turks had actually a fairly extensive literature including both history and poetry. Travellers in Turkey and Persia at this period often failed to obtain accurate information on the subject of Islamic literature.

⁴ For example, the famous Sinan Pasha (Cicala Zada) was a Genoese renegade to Islam: he held many important civil and military posts under the Sultans, and died in 1605.

⁵ Selim II (1566-74), Murad III (1574-95), Muhammad III (1595-1603).

soe longe sicke hathe weakened all the members, and the state of his forces is thus. The Turkes are generally all cowardes, whyche wyll hardelye bee belied, but it is as true a position as maye bee ; & what they haue donne in former aages hathe bynne more effected with multitudes of men then with magnanimitie and valeur, & feare hathe euer compelled them to fighte more then couradge ; for when the Greate Turke is in person in the feylde, or (in his absens) the generalle, hee wyll presentlye cause all sutche as refuse anye chardge that they are commaunded to make to bee putte to a most cruell deathe, soe as they are forced to adventure deathe for feare of deathe, & to that hazarde, the cheyffe wyll neuer putt his men, accepte (f. 6^d) his armye bee in number fwe to one of his enemyes.

The Turke his forces are nowe soe decayed from that they wer wonte to bee, as hee is rather a shaddowe of greatenes whyche former tymes haue giuen him & opinion doeth nowe yeelde him then anye thinge els.

For firste, this younge kinge, beinge a rashe, drunken, bloodye, headestronge boye, dyd soe violentelye & cruellye punishe all sutche bashawes as durste aduise him to anye course misliked by him, or seeke to diswade him from anye absurde opinion of his owne, that nowe all feare to speake to him. Hee hathe putt 4 or 5 of his wysest bashawes to deathe, onelye for counsellinge him to thinges fytted for him and misliked by him, and in that case hee spared not his owne mother, but poysoned hir in Auguste 1605. This vndiscreete course of his hathe broughte him to that ebbe (f. 7) that nowe I holde him to bee the easyest greate prince in the woorld to bee ruined, yf it would please the God of Heauen to illuminate the myndes of Christyan princes to a perfect peace & vnitye together, & stirre vppe theyre heartes agaynst him that is the moste professed enemye to Christe & His name ; for his cheyffe force consisteth of his nauye, Spahis, and Janissarys, of whyche his nauye is vtterlye decayed ; for in the yeere 1603 the Admiralle Bashawe was able to carye but 37 gallyes out of Constantynople, & in the yeere 1604 27, & in the yeere 1605 29, & when hee was at sea there wer added to these 3 of Cyprus, 5 of the Rodes,¹ 2 of Thessalonica, & one of Negroponte, whyche are eleuen in all, & these wer all exeedinge ille fitted with slaues & soldiares.

(f. 7^d) His cheyffe force by lande consisteth of Janissarys, Spahies,

¹ Rhodes.

& Timmarins.¹ These are all made of the sonnes of Christians, that are taken from theyre parentes when they are verry younge, & are called tributte children. They are (at the firste) deuided into towe sortes when they are firste broughte to Constantinople & Andrinople (*sic*) (for in these places they are broughte vppe all). The one sorte the Turkes call hitche oglandes ; ² of them are made the Spahies, these are horsemen, and haue 15 aspers a daye a peyce hee that hathe moste, but manye of them haue but 12. The other are called Jamm oglandes,³ of these the Janissarys are made ; noe Janissary hathe aboue 9 aspers ⁴ a daye, manye of them haue but 5. The Timmarins ⁵ are made of bothe these, and are sutche as for seruice donne are rewarded with landes & possessions (f. 8) duringe theyre liues, & for that they are bounde to finde the Turke soe manye men in his warres, somme 3, somme others more or lesse, accordinge to the quantity & valewe of the lande whyche they doe posses, & theyre owne persons are not exempted from the warres.

Of these the Janissarys are not well pleased with theyre kinge and the presente gouvernement, & the Spahies are absolutelye male contente. There are towe causes of this mutinye, the one an vnvsualle seueritye inflicted vpon bothe these by the Greate Turke, the other wante of paye. & the mallis of the Spahies is encreased by this occasion : In January 1605 the Spahies wer extreame poore, hauinge receaued noe paye in 2 yeere, & they putt vppe a petition to the Visiere Bashawe as hee satte in open courte requiringe theyre paye ; they recaued a dillatory aunswere. The nexte daye the Janissarys made the like requeste, and they had somme kinde of content. (f. 8^d) The Spahies wer exeedingelie offended with this partiallitye, and returned the nexte daye to the courte with euerye man 2 stones in his handes, & with them beate the Visiere Bashawe & the other bashawes from theyre seate of iustis, & threwe many stones agaynest the Greate Turke his courte gate. 6 or 7 of the principalle of them haue syns bynne hanged, and satisfaction promised to the rest, whoe haue all vowed to goe to the Kinge of Persia soe soone as this moneye is receaued, whyche is not like to

¹ Respectively the mercenary foot-guards, the horse-guards, and the feudal lords.

² Oglande is a boye [*Author's Note*].

³ The words " hitche " and " jamm " stand for the Turkish *ich* = internal, and '*ajami* = foreign. " Oglandes " is a corruption of the Turkish *oghlan* = young man. *Ich oglan* was the name given to the Sultan's pages.

⁴ 20 aspers make one shillinge starlinge [*Author's Note*].

⁵ *Tīmārī* (or Timariots) so called from *tīmār*, a fief.

bee in haste, bycause the Greate Turke is exeedinge poore, & wanteth money by reason that hee can not receaue his rentes out of Asia & Affrica. The timmarins are moste in Asia, & the greatest number of them are rebelled with the bashawe of Aleppo,¹ whoe is lorde nowe of all Siria, Palestine, & Arabia, onelye he had not the possession of Damascus (f. 9) when I hearde laste thens, but had moste streyghtelye beseydged it, & the Greate Turke is not able to relieue it.

The mannor of the fightes that the Turkes vse are straundge, & all together vnsoldiarlike, for they are all vnarmed, & the horse men haue for weapons a lance de gaye,² a bowe & arrowes, & a semiterre, whyche is theyre best weapon. They weare noe armor, & neuer fighte eyther in ranke or troupe, but disperse them selues, & cum to fighte liker men that woulde playe at iogo de toro³ or iogo de cano⁴ then soldiares. Of the foote the Janissarys doe vse a certeyne peyce that is as longe as a muskette, & the bore aboute the heyghte of a caliuer, whyche maketh it carrye verye farre. They haue the delicatest matche that euer I sawe, but not one corne of good powder but that whyche they gett from overthrowne Christians, or els is broughte them out of Englande. The other sorte carye (f. 9^d) half pikes or shorte axes, & theyre bodyes vnarmed.

The Persian dyd giue him 3 greate overthrowes in the yeere 1605, and in the laste battell wer sleyn of the Turkes eleuen bashawes, 25 saniackes,⁵ & 50000 ordinary men vpon the place. The generall of the Turkes fledde from the feylde with 50 horse onelye in his companie; the Turke lost that daye 100 peyces of ordinans, 24000 muskettes, & his treasure that was there to paye his armye. The Persian hathe thus wonne Babilon vpon Euphrates, Argerimen, Vannes, & Caramante; Tauris (by the Turkes called Tiflis) was wonne by him the yeere before.⁶ The Persian hathe nowe 3 armyes

¹ This refers to the famous Jalālī rebellion in Asia Minor, which began on the death of Sultan Murād III.

² Lance de gaye, a kind of lance, from the old French *lancegaye*.

³ Iogo de toro, bull-baiting

⁴ Iogo de cano, the friendly sport of throwing pointless spears by men on horseback

⁵ Saniacke, the next title to a bashawe [*Author's Note*]. *Sanjaq* = district; the governor was called *sanjaq beg*.

⁶ The last battle referred to is, no doubt, the capture of Tabriz. By Babylon Baghdad is intended, but this was not lost to the Persians until 1623. Argerimen = Azerbaidjan; Caramante = Qaraman; Tiflis is of course an error for Tabriz. Shāh 'Abbās I ruled Persia 1587-1629.

in the feylde, and the Turke none to resiste him, & the Persian hathe taken all the rebelles of Asia into his protection. (f. 10) And now that the Turkes finde that by rebellinge they can dischardge them selues of that seruile yoke with whyche the Ottomans haue so longe tiranised ouer them, there wyll cum (& that speedily) a greate dissipation in that Empire, whyche hathe soe longe bynne vphelde by meere force, tyrannye, & violens. Egyp̄te dyd a yeere syns chasse awaye theyre bashawe, and the Janissarys there sent the Turke woorde that they wer able to keepe the cuntrie without a bashawe. Argier¹ & Tunis obey him noe farther then they please, neyther doe the 7 gallyes of Argiere at anye tyme ioyne with the Greate Turke his fleete; & it was rather the Emperor² his faulte, ioyned with Boskaye³ his rebellion, then the Turke his virtue, that soe mutche of Hungary was loste this yeare.

The Turke hathe soe mutche lande that hee is vnable to people the halfe of it, & the lande, houses, & trees doe suffer his tyrannye as well as (f. 10^d) the poore people; for they ruine all places where they cum, & the best townes they haue are not half of that they haue bynne.

I haue passed cleane thouroughe Macedon,⁴ & sommetye, & that for the moste of the waye, I haue rydden 20 mile together, & that in as pleasaunte a cuntrie as euer I sawe, & haue not seene one human creature, nor one house. Armenia lyeth all vtterlye waste, without anye inhabitante.

And yf there shoulde bee a generall warre made by all Christian princes vpon the Turke, there is noe nation soe potente to offende the Turkes & receaue noe kinde of dommdage from them as the Englishe; for fyrste, our shyppes are the gallanteste & best fitted for the warre of anye; our mariniers are moste apte for sutche entreprises, as men daylye treyned & experienced in fyghte, by reason of the longe warre that hathe bynne betweene Englande & Spayne. Our shyppes (f. 11) wyll as easelye goe into Turkie as into France, & one reasonable shippe wyll beate 10 gallyes.

The Turke (on the contrary) hathe noe shyppes that are able to endure a fyghte, & his gallyes (verye children knoue) can not brooke

¹ Algiers.

² Rudolf II (1576-1612).

³ Stephen Bocskai (King of Hungary and Voivod of Transylvania), who, in order to maintain the independence of Transylvania, called the Turks to his aid against the Emperor in 1605.

⁴ This evidently refers to the long journey overland from Negropont to Constantinople made by the author as a prisoner. See Introduction, p. vi.

our seas, whyche in a growen fret¹ wyll pussell a good shyppe ; & by lande the Turke can neuer cum to vs : soe as yf wee haue anye brickelinge with him the Turke muste bee the patient to beare all, & wee shall bee the agentes to doe what wee liste to them, yf God please but to blisse vs with what is probable & likelye in the eyes of all men that vnderstande those partes.

And to this maye bee added the greate number of Christians that are in all his cuntries that haue bynne formerlye baptised, whyche doe farre excede the Turkes in number, yea even in Constantinople it self ; & these desire noethinge but armes & capiteynes, & they woulde ryse agaynest (f. 11^d) the Turkes for theyre libertye, & woulde furnishe men, money, & horses sufficiente. This I haue learned of diuers wyse & wealthye Greekes that doe wyshe for this helpe with teares.

(f. 12) The Turkes holde traffique of merchaundize 2 wayes, the one abroade, the other at home. That abroade is moste to the Easte Indias ouer lande, & that was enterteyned in the tyme that there was peace between the Persian & Turke, eyther by the Persians or Amenians, that broughte the goods of China & India, with somme Persian commodities, by caravanoes to Aleppo, or els by the Arabians, that broughte them to Mecha, & there shynped them & caryed them by the Redde Sea to Alexandria.

The trade that is helde at home with him in his dominiones is moste by Christian merchauntes, whyche (by alloweans) are onelye Englishe, Frenche, Venetians, & Poles.

The wares that the Englishe sende into Turkie are tinne, leade, gunpowder, muskettes, swoordes, copper, kersies,² broadecloathe, conniskinnes, brimstone, cordages, cables, steele, & caveare.

Somme of these are (f. 12^d) laudable & good wares, other abhominable & naughte, & bringeth mutche sclander to our nation & religion, whyche is powder & other munition for warre & shypinge, broughte by the Englishe in greate abundans thither, & by noe other nation els.

The husbände³ solde 500 barrells of good & serviceable powder in Iulye 1604 in Argier, & in September 1605 the shippes of Malta & Sardinia founde 200 barrells of powder in the *Vineyarde* in Millo Roade,⁴ & for that cause they made prise of hir.

¹ In a rough sea

² A coarse, woollen cloth The name is possibly derived from Kersey, a place in Suffolk

³ Ship's husband = agent managing the business of a ship for owners.

⁴ The island of Milos

The Englishe keepe 3 open shoppes of armes & munitiō in Constantinople. The gayne is verry greate that the merchants make in the Turkie trade, for all Englishe commodities are solde there at a moste hyghe rate.

Gunpowder is solde for 23 & 24 chikinoes¹ the hundred; in Englande it costeth but 3 pounce. Tinne in Constantinople beareth the same (f. 13) price. Muskettes are solde for 5 or 6 chikinos the peyce; in Englande they buy the ordinary ones for 2 markes,² the best for 18 shillings. Copper & swoordes are not inferior to these, nor anye other commoditie that is brought from Englande.

The Frenche doe sende everye yeare commodities to the Turkes, as poore Jhonne,³ caueare, French trifles,⁴ whiche are the most vsuall wares that they use at all, into any parte.

The Venetian is the greatest trader of all others thither, for the neerenes of theyre neyghbourehooode to the Turke, & the greate necessitie whyche they haue of corne & woolle maketh them sende more & bigger shypes then anye others doe. The wares that they sende are broad cloathes, silkes of all sortes, cloathe of siluer, golde, & tissue.

They doe by noe meanes suffer any mannor of munitiō, armes, or weapon to bee caried to the Turke, for what Venetian soeuer ladeth anye sutche (f. 13^d) thinges forfetteth them, & all other his goods that are in that shyppe where those counter bande wares are, and himself is condemned to the gallies for a certeyne tyme.

The Pole tradeth onelye by lande, by carauanne. The cheyffe wares that the Poles sende are rytche furies, & theyre principal returne is horses & dollars.

To the proffitte whyche the merchants tradinge by sea into Turkie make of the playne sale of theyre goods (whyche is exeedinge greate), is added the buiinge & sellinge of Turkie wares of one porte in an other—as the goods of Argiere to bee caried to Constantinople, the commodities of Constantinople to Scanderomie,⁵ and the wares of Damascus to Sio;⁶ & in all these transmigrations from one Turkie porte to an other they transporte manye passengers, Jewes & Turkes. Euerye passenger giueth 5 chikinoes for the freyghte of his person, (f. 14) and feedeth him self; & in these

¹ Chikinoe is 7 shillings & six pens starlinge [*Author's Note*]. Chikinoes = sequins.

² There is some confusion in this sentence, as 2 marks would exceed 18 shillings.

³ Hake salted and dried for food.

⁵ Iskandarun, or Alexandretta.

⁴ Truffles.

⁶ Scio, or Chios.

coastings our Englishe shippes doe vse to carye Christian slaues for the Turkes from porte to porte. These are a very commune merchaundize emongest the Turkes, to sell bothe men, women, & children, whyche they take out of theyre beds in maritime villages of Christendomme, & conueye them to Argiere, & from thens to Constantinople. There are noe Christian shippes that trade with the Turke that wyll carye anye of these, but onelye the Englishe, all the others vtterlye refusinge to doe the Turkes soe vncharitable a seruise.

The former prattiques beinge ended, they lade theyre shippes home, with sutch wares as wyll yeelde an aungell¹ for euerye chikinoe.

This gayne is greate, but I could wyshe that all Christian merchauntes (that haue trade with the Turke) wer enioyned to sende men of ripe aage & mature vnderstandinge to bee theyre factors there; for that place & conuersation with infidelles doeth mutch corrupte (f. 14^d) youthe, & manye wylde youthes of all nationes, as well Englishe as others, wyll not sticke to saye in a brauery that in euerye 3 yeere that they staye in Turkye they loose one article of theyre faythe.

(f. 15) The wronges that are offered to Christian princes & theyre Embassadors in Turkie are daylye & infinite. I wyll sett downe sutch as haue fallen out in my tyme & knowledge, & I wyll beginne with the greatest & straungest, whiche was offered to the Venetians on Frydaye the 2 of November, 1604.

The state of Venis dyd sende a verye magnificent & hyghe embassade, with manye rytche & sumptuous presents to congratulate with Sultan Aamathe, the Greate Turke that nowe reyneth.² The Embassador himself was a senator of Venis; hee was accompanied with a gentleman of principalle accompte whoe was to remeyne leger³ in Constantinople, (the leger Embassador of Venis the Venetians call a baylley),⁴ theyre olde baylleye beinge revoked, to returne home to Venis with theyre Embassador.⁵

These 3 greate Venetian Embassadors, beinge accompanied with (at leaste) 30 clarissimos⁶ of Venis, cam from (f. 15^d) Golata⁷

¹ Angel, a 15th-century English gold coin, bearing the figure of the Archangel Michael, worth in Sherley's time about ten shillings

² Sultan Ahmad I (1603-17). ³ Resident ambassador. ⁴ It. *bailo*.

⁵ The Signory sent Giovanni Mocenigo di Girolamo (ambassador) and Ottaviano Bon di Alessandro (*bailo*) on this embassy; the returning *bailo* was Francesco Contarini di Bertucci

⁶ Nobles. ⁷ Galata was the European Quarter of Constantinople.

(where all Christian Embassadors are lodged), in the greatest pompe that they coulede deuise, to Constantinople, to visitte the Visiere Bashawe, & praye a day of audiens to bee admitted to the Greate Turke his presens & kisse his hande. The Greate Turke was then abroade, & espied theyre galeotte, whyche was moste ritchely couered with cloathe of golde, sett out with verye fayre banners, as well of Saynte Marke as of other deuises of Venis, 3 smalle peyces of ordinans in hir proue, & all hir oares paynted.

He dyd presentelye demaunde what stately foyste¹ yt was. One answered him that it was the Venetian Embassador his galeotte. The Greate Turke commanded presentelye to breake the galeote, throue all the ordinans into the sea, & kille the Venetians: "for" (sayed hee) "I wyll not haue anye Christian dogges make sutch vauntinge, glorious shewes in Constantinople."

The worde was noe sooner spoken but the malevolent Turks (f. 16) wer readye to putt this bloodye doome in execution; & foorthewith the garde brake the barke & oares, threwe the ordinans into the sea, & beate the Venetians moste cruellye, drowninge & killinge diuers of them. The Greate Turke himself (duringe this horrible massacre) satte on horsebacke lookinge on, & shootinge manye arrowes himself amongst theyse poore, vnarmed men.

One Turke that was a beholder of this tragedy (a man of discretion, as seemed) sayed that it was greate pittye that the Venetian Embassador was thus ille entreated; "for" (sayed hee) "this rebuffio wyll cause the Venetians to breake theyre league with vs, & ioynе with the Emperour."

The Greate Turke overheardе him, and immediatelye (without anye further iudgement) caused his heade to bee striken of, & his bodye caste into the sea. & soe this foolishe, tirrannous tragedy ended.

There was a Frenche shippe caste awaye at Argiere in Auguste, 1604. The Turkes dyd presentelye ceasse vpon all the goods in (f. 16^d) hir & the mariners; they keepe the goods, & made the men gallye slaues.

The Englishe haue receaued manye intollerable wronges, & the cheyffe is the *Marie Rose*,² whyche was laden with gaules³ & cotton woolles at Ciprus. Shee payed all hir custommes, & per-

¹ Foist, a small ship with sails and oars.

² Cf. the account in *Calendar of State Papers (Venetian)*, 1603-7, London, 1900.

³ Gall-nuts.

formed all other dueties & rites, & emongest them shee gaue a presente to the Admiralle Bashaue (whyche is a thinge of greate importans in Turkie), & yett the Admiralle tooke hir the nexte daye at sea, all hir men wer made slaues in the gallyes, & wer (after) freed for money, & the shippe was sente as a prize to Constantinople, where shee remeyned vntille Christemas Eue at nighte, & then shee was brente by the Greate Turke his commaundement.

I will sett downe the reasons that moue mee to assure myself that this shippe was brent by the Greate Turke his commaunde, bycause Mr. Lello¹ wrotte (f. 17) into Englande that hee knewe not howe she fell on fyre; I woulde then haue wrytten myne opinion yf I had not bynne verye sicke.

The shippe was taken the 14th of September, & Mr. Lello coulede not gett hir out of the Turke his handes by anye meanes, & that nighte that shee was fired shee was brought a longe Englishe myle from the place where shee roade, & anchored iuste vnder the seralia² garden wall, in a place where the Turke myghte (with best conueniens) see hir burne. Shee was fired in 5 seuerall partes at one instante.

The men that kepte hir wer with mutche suite putt a while in prisonne, & noe more, where they had binne sure to haue binne tormented to deathe yf a shyppe in whyche the Greate Turke pretended a righte had bynne fired without his consente.

The Admirall (f. 17^d) Bashawe tolde Mr. Lello (when hee complayned to him of this wronge) that hee (Mr. Lello, I meane) had caused hir to bee fired himself—a likely reason!

All the goods wer taken out of the *Marye An* by the gallyes of Argiere in the yeere 1604, & at my departure from Constantinople there was noe redresse, nor hope of anye for hir.

Capiteyne Fetiplace, the youngest brother to Sir Jhonne & Sir Rycharde Fetiplace, dyd serue Mr. Stopers³ (as himself wryteth), & puttinge into Tripoli, in Barbary, his shippe was stayed there, & hee & all his men wer made slaues. The merchauntes procured for themselves this scourdge when they woulde not suffer theyre agent, Mr. Lello, to free Capiteyne Arnolde & his shyppe.

I wyll not excuse his facte, yett it was vnChristianlye & vn-

¹ Henry Lello was English ambassador to the Porte from 1597 to 1607.

² Seralia the name of the Turke his courte [*Author's Note*].

³ Mr Stopers must be Mr Richard Staper, a governor and founder of the Levant Company (See Sir William Foster's *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, London, 1933, and A. C. Wood's *History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935)

wyselye donne to suffer the Turkes to confiscate his (f. 18) shippe goods, & men ; for it is agayneste the articles betweene His Maiestye & the Turke that anye Englishe shoulde bee made a slaue in Turkie ; & nowe the merchauntes & theyre agente hauinge yeelded to this for Capiteyne Arnolde, the Turkes, takinge holde of that libertye and findinge sweetenes in the prize, haue proceeded to take & spoyle 3 of theyre shyppes sins ; for the Turkes are like theyre father, the Deuille, giue them an inche & they wyll take an elle ; & (surelye) it had binne more honorable for His Maiestye that Capteyne Arnolde & his men shoulde haue bynne freed from the Turkes, & binne sente home into Englande to receaue punishment yf they bee offenders.

(f. 18^d blank) (f. 19) There is noe place where Embassadors oughte to bee more waye in theyre caryadge, for the honor of theyre masters then in Constantinople, bycause yt is a place of concourse of all nations, & the Turkes are people that wyll offer wronges inoughe yf they finde that they bee not well putt of : & therefore the Venetians doe euer send thither a gentleman of cheyffe reputation to bee theyre baylleye there ; & yett they truste not him alone with the manadginge of theyre busines in that fickell state, but doe euer appoynte him a clarissimo to bee his secretary, without whom hee can doe noethinge.

The Frenche kinge doeth communlye send a man of courte thither, & the Frenche Embassador (that nowe resideth there), Monsieur de Salanacke,¹ is of the kinge his priuie counsell.

The Emperour (when hee hathe peace with the Turke) sendeth a cheyffe nobleman (f. 19^d) to bee his leger there ; soe doeth the kinge of Pole, & the Muscouite.

There are manye wronges whyche daylye happen to Christian Embassadors there ; by mistakinges of whyche sorte noe one thinge breedeth more then that they doe treatate all theyre busines by enterpretors, that are the Turke his subiectes, eyther Iewes or Greekes ; whoe beinge subiectes to the one, & draweing theyre liuinge from the other, are false to the Christians, & doe neyther truelye enterprette what the embassador sayeth or the bashawe aunswareth, when they feare that the true knoweledge of eythers speache maye hazarde an vnkindenes ; by whyche meanes the Turkes giuinge often a barbarous, vnciuille language, & not the like returned to them doe insulte vpon the Christian, whoe is therein

¹ Jean de Gontaut-Biron, Baron de Salignac, was appointed French Ambassador to the Porte in 1604. He has left a record of his sojourn in Turkey.

dishonored; & the interpreters are euer partialle to the Turkes, bycause (f. 20) theyre wyues & children are to liue vnder them.

The Venetians finde this, & therefore they beginne to bringe vpye young Venetians in Galata to learne to speake & write Turkishe, & doe make interpreters of them.

Christians that intitule the Greate Turke *Imperator Regni Musselmani* doe them selues an infinite wronge, bycause Musselman is a Turkishe worde, & signifieth a faythefull beliuier, & hee (that beinge a Christian) acknowledgeth a Mahometan to bee a faythefull beliuier doeth confesse himself to bee an infidell.

The Greate Turke esteemeth all presents sent to him by anye Christian prince to bee tribute due to his crowne, & soe hee tearmeth the Englishe presents sent to his predecessors.

(f. 20^d blank).

(f. 21) Constantinople is the greatest citie that euer I sawe; it is with in the walles as bygge as 2 of London, Westminster, & all the rest of the suburb. It standeth vpon a necke of lande in the vttermoste limittes of Thrace, & is the ende of Europe that waye. It is a iuste geometricall triangle, & is 3 wayes enuironed with the sea. The 4th lieth vpon a playne towards Andrinople. It hathe in it 30 gates, & 2 fortes, at eache ende one: the one at the easte, & that is the seralia, where the Greate Turke keepeth his courte, his concubines, & enuches; & there the Visiere Bashaw kepeth his courtes of iustis. The other is in the west, & is called the 7 towers, soe named bycause there are 7 greate towers vpon the walles of it. Neyther of these places, nor the citie it self bee fortified with anye arte, but with huge stone walles builte after (f. 21^d) the olde fashion.

The 7 towers and that parte of the citie whyche lieth to the lande haue 3 walles (& soe haue moste of the townes of Greece); the other sides to the sea are but singlye walled. This towne is mutche ruined, & diuers streetes on the southe side are vtterly defaced, & there is corne grounde where wer wonte to bee houses.

There are fewe fayre buildinges in it, onelye theyre churches, & of them 2 excede all the rest: the one is Sultan Solman his monument, the other that whiche was St. Sofies Church in the Christian tyme.

The Christians enhabitte in the west ende of the towne, the Jewes in the northe & northe easte parte, & the Turkes in the reste.

There are in this citie 5 Christians for one Turke.

The entrans into this citey is garded with 4 stronge castelles, 2 vpon the Streightes of Scuderett,¹ 4 mile from Constantinople (f. 22) at the entrans into the Blacke Sea, auntientelye called Pontus Euxinus; the other 2 are at the entringe in of the Streightes of Gallipoli, 100 leagues from Constantinople.

(f. 23) The ruines of olde Troye are yett to bee seene; they are 30 myle in lengthe, betweene Gallipoli & the castell at the mouthe of those streightes. The walles are in somme places a yarde highe, in others euen with the grounde, & manye foundations of towres are yett extante, & a greate parte of Helens pallas standeth—the breadthe I knowe not.

(f. 24) Euboea is one of the greatest iles in the Arches;² it is a hundred Englishe miles longe. It hathe in it 2 good portes, & 2 fortified townes, where of one is called Castell Rouse;³ the other, & cheyffe, Negroponte, giueth name to the whole ilande.

Here is an exellente harbour. The towne is a castell, seated on a playne, with 3 walles & a drye ditche aboute it; the walles are olde & rotten, all builde in lengthe, without anye mannor of fortification. The towne is commaunded by a hille, but on the contrary syde of the water, not aboue a muskette shotte & a half from the towne.

There are but 500 Turkes in this ile, & yf it wer well fortified, & kepte by Christians, it woulde cause all Morcea (formerlye named Peloponesus & Achaya) to revolte from the Turkes. The Greekes maye easelye rebell (f. 24^d), they beinge 4 for one of the infidells.

(f. 25) Thessalonica, nowe called by the Turkes Salonica, is the cheyffe towne of Macedon; it is as mutche as London within the walles.

All the vpper parte of the towne (whyche maketh a good half of it) is downe, & lieth leuell with the grounde. It is seated vpon the foote of a hille, stille descendinge to the sea, with an excellent harbour. Towardes the sea there is a rounde castell with store of ordinans, but none mounted.

There is an other weake olde castell at the vpper parte of the hille, within the wall; the wall is ruined in manye places of that side, where the towne is rased. There is a playne a mile from the towne, where men maye very easelye bee landed, & then the takinge of the towne is verye easye, & the vpper parte wyll beate the castell by the sea syde as flatte as a cake.

This towne is all possessed by Jewes, sauinge the gouuernors

¹ Straits of Scutari.

² The Archipelago.

³ Possibly Carystos.

of the towne, & the agas (whiche is the name giuen by the (f. 25^d) Turkes to theyre castilians) of the toue castelles are Turkes.

It is one of the richest townes in Greece, and can not bee releued in les then 30 dayes. It can not bee made tenible bycause it is commaunded by the hill at the foote whereof it standeth.

(f. 26) All the Turkes fortes within lande are weake & of noe force; onelye his frontiers are stronge.

His castelles are garded with poore, miserable men that haue but 3 or 4 aspers the daye paye at the moste, & they are vnarmed, vsinge noe weapons but little staues. Euen the 7 towers (whyche is his cheyffe forte) is thus guarded, & the castelles at the entring in of the Streightes of Galipoli, whyche is esteemed the key of his Empire.

That castell of Europe side is soe commaunded by a hille that it can not hold out one houre yf but 3 cannons bee braked agaynyst it vpon that hylle. The other, of Asia side, is builte vpon a pleyne, after the olde fashion, without anye bulwarke but a thicke stone wall, easye to bee scaled or battered bycause the grounde is goode, & fitte to drawe ordinans vpon.

(f. 26^d blank).

(f. 27) Cyprus is the greatest ile of the Mediteranean Sea. It is verye neere 300 mile longe, but verye narrowe. It hathe in former tyme bynne a flourishing kingedomme. The cheyffe citi is Nicosia, & Famagosta the principall forte & hauen.

The merchaundises of this ile are wyne, oylle, gaules, cotton wooll, & indico. There is one other good hauen more (called) Paphos.

There are in this whole kingedomme but 1500 Turkes, & the ilanders are verye desirous to rebell; & the losse of this ilande from the Turke doeth absolutelye take Egipte from him.

(f. 28) Candi¹ is an ile that lieth to the southe of the Arches, & doeth (as it wer) wall in all those ilandes.

The cuntrye aboundeth with oylle & wyne, but is verye barren of corne. It is subiect to the Venetians. The Venetians there are courteous, but the Greekes of the ilande are verye rude & barbarous. There are manye good portes in it, all exelently fortified. The cuntrye is full of highe, barren mounteynes, & somme smalle vallyes betweene them. There are in it 7 bishoppes & one arche-bishoppe.

(f. 29) Millo² is one of the delicatest ilandes that euer I sawe,

¹ Candi = Candia = Crete.

² Milos.

full of fruitfull vallys & pleasant hilles. The people are curteous & kinde. They are tributary subiectes to the Turke, but haue noe garrison nor anye Turke emongest them but onelye a cadī¹ & his man.

There are 2 braue & excellent harboures, whereof the porte of Millo is capable of 1000 shyppes; the entrans into it is streyghte, & maye easelye bee fortified. the other is called Argentiere² & is betweene 3 ilands, Millo, Argentiere, & Cefano,³ whereof Argentiere hathe somme fewe inhabitants, the other, none. Millo is well able to maynteyne a garrison, bycause it payeth 10000 chikinoes by the yeere to the Turke, & yett it is not half soe well inhabited as it might bee yf the Christians had it.

There are 2 bishoppes in Millo, the one Latin, & the other Greeke. (f. 29^d).

This ile of Millo (beside wyne & corne) hathe a mine of siluer, greate quanty of brimstone, a myne of calamitte, roache allum, & coale armoniake,⁴ & diuers excellent bathes bothe moiste & drye; but they dare not vent anye of theyre mynes for feare of the Turkes, bycause they are nowe free & doe onelye paye a tribute, but yf the Turkes knew this wealthe they wer vtterlye ruined. The ritches of this ile wyll serue to maynteyne more then the thirde parte of the chardge of an armye yf it bee well vsed. All the ilande yeeldeth saltepeeter in greate abundans, & soe doeth all Greece in generall.

The porte of Argentira wyllbee easelye fortified with small chardge, & then the ilande is impregnable.

(f. 30) Zante is somethinge bigger then Millo, but it is not soe fertile, but better peopled, for it hathe 60 villadges. It is soe barreyne that it yeeldeth not corne to serue the ilande 3 monethes in the yeere. The cheyffe trade there is currantes, whyche is noue allmoste made vnprofitable by reason of a restreynte that the signory of Venis hathe made vpon them.

The towne standeth vpon the harbor, whyche is a daungerous roade, the anchoradge beinge naughte, by reason of the softenes and loosenes of the grounde. There is a highe hille close to the towne, vpon the toppe of whyche is a castell that commaundeth bothe the towne & harbor.

There are in this ile 6000 shotte, & 200 horse, but noe pikes. The

¹ Cadī is a iudge [*Author's Note*].

² Now called Kimolos.

³ Possibly the modern Siphnos, formerly called Siphanto.

⁴ Calamite, rock alum, and carbonate of ammonia.

inhabitantes are Albinertes¹ whoe are the soldieres, sauing the garrison of the castell.

(f. 31) Corfue is a greate ilande, verry pleasant & fructefull ; it is in the mouthe of the Adriaticall Sea ; there is in it a moste delicate harbour. The towne of Corfue is seated in a litle valleye enuironed with smalle hilles, whyche the Venetians haue cutte & formed with greate arte, & soe haue fortified the whole towne.

There are 2 citadelles or castelles : the one at the easte, the other at the west ende of the towne. The westernne castell is the strongest thinge that euer I sawe ; bothe by nature & arte ; each struinge whiche shoulde excede other in the fortifyinge of that place.

The nature of the scituation is a hyghe, steepe rocke like a walle of marble ; it is thrise as hyghe as Powles.² Vpon the toppe of this rocke there are 2 castelettes of admirable force, & excellentelye furnished with artillery ; & middewaye from thens to the foote of the hille are other fortifications (f. 31^d) made, & well furnished with ordinans, & at the foote an other. There is a greate & mightye fortification—but I cannot describe it, bycause the castellan (called by the Venetians a provedador) would not suffer mee to see it, beinge the keye of theyre castell—that at the easte ende is verry hyghe, but lower then the other. I coulde not gett leaue to see yt, but I went rounde aboute the outsyde of it, & dyd finde it to bee of a verry ingenious & excellent forme, & well furnished with ordinans. This latter needeth not for the defens of the towne, bycause the former commaundeth bothe it, the towne, & harbor. But the Venetians loue to haue more, in a kinde of magnificent humor, then all others.

This ile is one of the keyes of Christendomme, for yf the Turkes had yt, they mighte anoy Itali at theyre pleasure & ruine all the traffique in the Gulfe of Venis.

(f. 32) Ottranto is a maritime towne in Apulia ; it confronteth vpon Epire ; it is a stronge place with a citadelle gouerned by a Spaniarde, & in it is a Spanishe garrisonne.

Lecha is a verry fayre olde towne, full of goodlye churches, & a fayre castell. In myne opinion it is farre fayrer then Genoa. The Duke de la Noche³ resideth there. Hee is one of the curtestest & moste affable princes that euer I mett with.

Mola is a fine smalle towne vpon the Gulfe of Venis ; it is well fortified, & hathe a fine litle castell in it.

(f. 33) Canosa is nowe a smalle poore thinge, but in tyme passed

¹ Albanians.

² St. Paul's.

³ Nocera (?).

it hathe bynne a verye greate & statelye towne. The ruines of the olde walles are yett to bee seene, & emongest the other is standinge a fayre olde decayed temple, dedicated to Apollo in olde tyme.

There are diuers other auntient monuments, & the moste notable & fayrest of them is the tombe of Kinge Bohemunde,¹ sonne to Robert Guiscard, firste duke of Calabria. Hee was the firste kinge of Naples.

(f. 34) Ascoli² is a smalle towne, but a principalitye. I founde the gentlemen of the towne verye gallante and kinde, but the gouernor vsed mee verye ille. But the Prince of Ascoli dyd righte mee as soone as I cam to Naples. Hee is a verye gallante vnderstandinge gentleman, of greate experiens & excellent discourse; hee is base³ brother to the kinge of Spayne.⁴

(f. 35) Puglia⁵ is one of the brauest & pleasantest cuntryes in Europe, full of pleasant hilles, soe fruitfull that they mowe the toppes of them. The playnes & vallyes are abundante with corne, wyne, & oliues, & soe are theyre mounteyns. Theyre pasture is good, & theyre cattell greate & aboundaunte. Fewe riuers, & noe plentye of woodde, but in somme places there are goodlye wooddes. This is the cheyfest provins of the kingedomme of Naples. The whole kingedomme is one of the sweetest cuntryes in Europe.

The gouuernement of that kingedomme is eyther by a Spanishe viceroie & a counsell of Napolitans, or a Napolitan viceroi & a counsell of Spanyardes, bycause sutche was theyre agreement with the Emperor Charles.⁶

The Viceroi that is there nowe is Don Allonso de Prinontella, Conde de Benivento,⁷ a slowe olde man, that suffereth himself (f. 35^d) to bee whollye gouerned by his secretory Toris.

This courte is very statelye, & in it are 4 seueralle chambers for attendantes before they cum to the Viceroy his presens. The firste is for his garde & ordinary men; the seconde for gentlemen & capiteynes that haue noe title; the thirde for barons, coronells, knightes, & abbottes; the fourthe for princes, dukes, marquises, earles, & bishoppes. In euerye one of these chambers there is a cloathe of estate, & this order giueth a greate & braue magnificens to the courte.

¹ King Bohemund died in 1111.

² Ascoli Apulo.

³ Bastard

⁴ Philip III (1598-1621).

⁵ Apulia.

⁶ Charles V. There is no foundation in fact for this statement. All the viceroys were Spaniards.

⁷ Juan Alfonso Pimentel d'Errere, Count of Benevento, Viceroy 1603-10.

All dispatches are exeedinge slowe & tedious, bycause all matters passe through 2 handes, that is the Viceroy his, & his secretorys, or, to saye more truelye, one, that is the secretory.

There are manye pensioners in the kingedomme; forreners, whereof somme haue 200 duckettes the moneth, somme les, accordinge to theyre qualite, but none hathe aboue 200 & none (f. 36) vnder 8. There are manye Englishe pensioners, Scottes, & Irishe there, whiche I like not.¹

The Kinge of Spayne vseth one customme in this kingedomme, as he doeth in all other of his dominions: when anye man that is an officer is called from the warres hee holdeth his olde paye duringe his liffe. A capteyn hath 25 duckettes the moneth, and yf hee bee a man of anye meritte this paye is continued to his sonne after his deathe. This maketh that kinge to bee excellentelye well serued, for this certeynetye of meanes to liue encouradgeth men to serue & hazard theyre persons.

The reueneue of this kingedomme yeilded to the crowne of Spayne is verye neere 3 millions of duckettes the yeere, & yett the greate pensiones that the kinge giueth oute of it are soe manye as it doeth hardelye suffice to beare the chardge; for, beside the garrisons & ordinary (f. 36^d) pensions, the Kinge of Spayne giueth yeerelye pensiones out of Naples to the Kinge of Pole, the Dukes of Savoie, Parma, Mantua, & Vrbino.

There is verye good iustis & an exeedinge quiett kinde of gouernement in this kingedomme, & noe inquisition; the inquisition is in Scisili. The Frenche name is verye hatefull to all the inhabitants of bothe kingedommes, but especiallye to the citisens of Naples.

(f. 37) The citeye of Naples is formed like a half moone. It is half as bigge as London is now. It is the pleasantest & ciuilest place that euer I found; & certeynly the Spanishe gentlemen are the moste curteous & soeciable that euer I mett.

Naples it self is verye weake, and onelye strengthened by the Castell of St. Elmo, whyche is seated vpon the toppe of an highe mounteyne, and commaundeth bothe the towne & harbor. There are 2 other Castelles in Naples: the one called Castello Nouo,

¹ Sir Tobie Matthew writing from Florence on August 8th, 1606, says: "Sr. Thomas Shirley hath longe since shaken off his fetters and lives in Naples like a gallant"

Thomas's brother Anthony, who at this time held a naval post in Naples, was then absent in Morocco

harde by the sea side ; the other the Castell of the Egge,¹ soe famous through the woorld ; it is seated in the sea, & that gaue it the reputation of strengthe, but there is a place in Naples harde by it (called) Pitche Falcone, that doeth soe commaunde it that is of noe strengthe yf the towne shoulde bee taken.

There is a moste admirable caue half a mile from Naples in the waye to Puttesola,² whyche Augustus (f. 37^d) Caesar caused to bee cutte aboue a longe Englishe mile in the bottomme of a hille, out of a mayne worke of line stone.

The harbour of Naples is not verye good, bycause it lieth open to the west and southe southe weste, soe as there is noe sauffe ridinge for shyppes in a storme.

There is noe towne in the worlde that hathe soe manye churches in it as Naples, for it hathe 1209 greate & smalle, the whyche the gentlemen & citisens builte in the tyme that the Frenche helde that kingedomme. They dyd this to avoyde the insolencye of the Frenche, whoe vsed to meete the Italian women as they wente to church, & woulde kisse them by force, a thinge verye hatefull to the Italians ; & therefore to avoyde that disorder they builded in euery streete 3 or 4 churches, that theyre women shoulde goe but a little waye to mass ; & in the ende this vnciuille disorder caused the Napolitans to call in the Spaniards (f. 38) and expell the Frenche ; but the churches doe yett remeyne, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, & that causeth the name of the Frenche to bee verye hatefull in Naples to this daye.

(f. 39) Gaietta is an illefavoured olde towne, but soe stronge by nature as it is impregnable. It is builte vpon a desente of a hille of marble, & a man goeth vpe into the towne & into the streetes by stayres cutte out of the rocke. The houses are all of stone, & the streetes soe narrowe that there can not aboue toue men goe afronte. There is vpon the toppe of the hille an olde stronge castell that commaundeth the towne.

There is half a mile out of the towne a huge rocke of marble, that did miraculously rente from the toppe to the bottomne at Our Sauoure his passion. This is helde a place of great devotion.

Gayetta is a viceroieshypp, & is gouerned by Don Francesco,

¹ Castel dell'Ovo, situated on a small island now joined to the shore by a causeway at the foot of the Pizzofalcone. The castle was restored in the sixteenth century.

² Posilippo. The cave would be the grotto constructed by Marcus Agrippa in 27 B.C.

Cont de Castro; hee is younger brother to the Conte de Lemos.¹ Hee is one of the moste honorable gentlemen that euer I mett with. Hee stayed mee 2 dayes, & sente mee euerye daye prouision inoughe for an earle his seruiss, & at my goinge thens (f. 39^d) hee furnished my boate with all mannor of provision for 14 dayes.

(f. 40) Porte Hercule² is in Toskayne, & doeth in ryghte belonge to the Duke of Florens, but it was taken by the Emperour Charles from Duke Cosmo in the infancye of his estate, with a lardge territory, & diuers townes aboute it.

Porte Hercule it self is one of the fineste harboures in Itali, & there are toue castelles builded on 2 hilles that stande on eyther syde of the harbor. The western castell hathe a prettye towne that belongeth to it, that beginneth at the castell & doeth descende to the foote of the hille.

The Kinge of Spayne holdeth 3 companies of Spaniardes in these castelles, & 2 in Orbotella, a prettye, smalle towne seated vpon a rocke 2 mile from Porte Hercule.

(f. 41) Ciuita Vechia is an illefavoured olde little towne, but the best harbour that the Pope hathe on that side of Itali. There are 2 fine harboures, one within an other, bothe walled aboute; the vttermoste for shyppes, & the other for gallyes. There is an olde castell, the moste stuffed with ordinans that I euer sawe.

(f. 42) Ligorna³ is a fayre harbor, but exeedinge open to all the westernne poyntes of the compas. The towne is not yett finished, but it wyll bee the finest smalle towne of Itali, all builte at the Duke his owne chardges.

The fortification is one of the best that euer I sawe, for there wanteth noe mannor of thinge to it that the wytte of a soldyare can deuise, it is soe excellentelye well flanked with bulwoorkes of rare forme & strengthe, the ditche deepe & broade. To these there is added a cittadelle within the rampiere, yf the towne shoulde bee taken. There is a moate within the walles for the sauffe keepinge of the gallyes, but it is toe shallowe for shyppes. They

¹ Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Conde de Lemos was Viceroy of Naples 1599-1603, and Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos held the same office 1610-16. It is not clear which of the two is intended in this passage.

² The port of Ansidonia, so called owing to its alleged foundation by Hercules

³ Leghorn. Cosimo and Francesco dei Medici had laid the foundations of the modern town, but its development was mainly due to Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1587-1609.

haue grounde inoughe within the towne to make a newe fortification yf this shoulde bee loste.

There are 1200 foote in garrison in it, but noe ordnans yett mounted, saue onelye in the olde castell, whyche (f. 42^d) serueth to noe purpose but to commaunde the harbor.

This place was once subiecte to the Genoases, & it hathe in the harbor sutche a lanterne as that of Genoa.

(f. 43) Pisa was sometyme a republica of greate esteeme. It cam into the subiection of the Florentines somme 200 yeere agoe. It is nowe mutche decayed, & little inhabited. Here the greate Duke doeth celebrate his Order of Knights of St. Stephen in a fayre newe churche builde by him for that purpose.¹

(f. 44) Florens is one of the finest townes in Itali for the exacte buildinge, cumlines of the streetes, & neatenes; & it is greate, though inferior to manye for biggenes; the ruer of Arne runneth throughe the middle of it.

There are manye goodlye buildinges to grace it, emongest the whyche the principalle are the Cathedrall churche, & Arnitiado²; the Duke his 2 pallas; Strossi his pallas; and the greate markett place, where are manye goodlye olde statues of brasse & marble, & a statue of brasse for Duke Cosmo on horsebacke, one of the goodliest thinges in Itali. It is the ciuillest towne in Itali, & freest for all straundgers & leaste daunger for hurte by nighte walkers.

The Duke of Florens is one of the moste politique & prudentest princes in the woorld, & iusteste in his gouernemente; not giuen ouer to to manye (f. 44^d) passions, yett a man; & (in myne opinion) I fynde noe prince in anye courte where I haue bynne soe true a frynde to the kinge as hee, for hee seemeth to loue his personne, his honor, & his realme, & hee is bounde to this lounge respect but onelye in affection to his royalle person; for hee hathe not sutche causes of state to moue him to this profession as other princes haue, for the kinge can les offende him (yf hee wer at enmitie with him) then hee can doe moste other princes, his territory beinge alltogether in terra firma & farre remote from Englande; & the Englishe trade in Toscan is of leaste profite to him & his cuntrie of anye other.³

¹ A naval order founded by Cosimo dei Medici in 1561, the church was built 1565-96.

² The reading of "rni" in the MS. is doubtful. It is probable that the Church of the Santissima Annunziata is intended here.

³ Ferdinand dei Medici opened up commerce with England and the Baltic. Anti-Turkish privateering was rife at this time, and Tuscan squadrons were

(f. 45) Bolonia is a fayre olde towne, farre bigger then Florens. There is a little riuer runninge by it that runneth into the Po by Ferara. This riuer is made by arte, & it hathe manye moales in it to shutte in the water to preserue it in the sommer, to the ende that by openinge certeyne fluddegates boates maye haue theyre passadge when the waters are at the lowest; for the firste that is opened filleth the seconde, & soe downewarde, & the riuer it self euer filleth the firste.

This towne giueth the name to the whole state subiect to it, & was the auntient seate of the Bentivoles.¹ It is nowe the Popes.

The Cardinall Justinian² is Legat there. The Justinians are a greate house, very auntient & noble. They are dispersed throughoughe all the states of Itali. They had theyre originalle in Sio, wher are yett verye manye of them.³ The cheyffe of them are of Genoa, where they haue (f. 45^d) hyghe & greate priuiledges; They deriue theyre pedigree from the Emperour Justinian, but that genelogie is false.

(f. 46) Ferara is an auncient citye, mutche bigger then Bolonia within the compas of the walls for circuitte, but it is not soe well peopled, & mutche of the towne lieth waste & is full of greate waste places, euen wooddes & corne feyldes. The cuntrie aboute it is lowe, rytche lande like Lombardye, but it is noe parte of it, bycause it is on the other syde of the Po.

This hathe longe bynne the cheyffe seate of the house of Este, one of the noblest & auntientest familyes of Itali; but by the deathe of the laste Duke, Don Alfonso,⁴ it fell into the handes of Pope Clement the 8th, for hee dyed, & lefte noe heyre male nor noe childe but one bastard (called) Don Caesar, to whom the Pope gaue the states of Modena & Regia (limbes of the Duchye of Ferara) with the title of Duke of them.

The Ferareses, growinge wearye of the churche gouernemente (whyche is absolutelye the (f. 46^d) wooste in Christendomme for a

sometimes commanded by English adventurers. Thomas Shirley himself sailed under the banner of the Grand Duke in 1602.

¹ The Bentivogli.

² Benedetto Grustiniani, Cardinal and Papal Legate

³ The family Grustiniani had their origin in Venice. Schio lies c. 50 miles to the north-west of Venice.

⁴ Alfonso II, d. 1597.

It is interesting to recall that it was with a view to helping Cesare d'Este against the Pope that Thomas Shirley's two brothers, Anthony and Robert, travelled to Italy in 1598, only to find when they reached Augsburg that the dispute had been decided in the Pope's favour.

man to liue under) doe moste of them abandon the towne, & withdrawe themselues into Modena & Regia, partelye for loue that they beare to the house & name of Este, but cheyffelye to bee freed from that tiranous yoke of the ecclesiasticall gouernement.

Soe the Pope doeth nowe offer to sell Ferara to Don Caesar, whoe is not able to buye it, but the Duke of Florens doeth offer to lende him money vpon the pawne of [MS. blank], a fortified towne that bordereth vpon Luca, whyche is a towne of infinite importans for the Duke of Florens, bycause hee, hauinge a garison in that towne, hee maye the easylier compas Luca, whyche hee desireth aboue all places, for hauinge that hee wer lorde of all Toskayne (of whyche hee writeth himself Greate Duke) ; hauinge the state of Piumbina, & Porte Hercule with his territori, & Orbotella, of whiche Porte Hercule & Orbotella wer taken from Duke (f. 47) Cosmo by the Emperour Charles the Fifte by violens ; & this Duke loste the state of Piumbina by to mutche frugality, for the Prince of Piumbina, beinge olde, childeles, sickelye, & in debte, offered to sell his estate to the Greate Duke, whoe esteemunge that noe prince of Itali was able, or woulde buye it out of his handes, dailed the Prince, & made lowe offers to him of lesse money then was demaunded ; & soe the Kinge of Spayne stepped in & boughte it ; & hee wyll (in tyme) rume the Duke by that purchasse, bycause the ile of Lelbo¹ belongeth to that state, & the Duke had boughte half of that ilande before & made noe partition, hopinge one daye to haue the whole, but dyd only fortifye the harbor there (called Porta Ferara²), whyche is inferior to noe harbour in Itali ; & nowe (euen this yeere) the Kinge of Spayne hathe made an invincible forte not 2 Italian miles from the harbor, & is like to posses himself of the harbor vppon (f. 47^d) the firste occasion ; & then the Duke is half vndone, bycause his porte of Ligorna is perillous in somme myndes.

Nowe that I treate of this matter I holde it best to sett downe my memorys of Toskan in this place.

Toskan was in auintient tyme deuided into 8 states : one principalitye (that is Piumbina), nowe in the possession of the Spaniardes, & 7 republicas, or commune wealthes : Florens, Pisa, Siduna,³ Pistoia, Ragio,⁴ Orbotella, & Luca, of whyche the Duke of Florens holdeth the 5 firste, & hathe reduced them to a monarchicall kinde of gouernement.

¹ Elba.

³ Presumably Siena.

² Now called Portoferraio.

⁴ Presumably Arezzo.

The Kinge of Spayne hathe Orbatella, & it is nowe esteemed a limbe of that invincible state of Porte Hercule.

Luca doeth yett remeyne a free state, but fearinge the strength of his 2 nexte neyghboures, the Florentin & Genoese, hathe put it self vnder the protection of the Kinge of Spayne, whiche gueth mee cause to sett downe a breyffe remembrans of the Spanishe (f. 48) potencie in Itali.

The Kinge of Spayne is in Itali itself farre to potente for all the other states of Itali, meerelye of himselfe as an Italian prince, without the helpe of Spayne or the Indies or anye other forreyne ayde: for firste, for his owne interest & dominion hee is kinge of Scisilye & Naples, Duke of Millan, Prince of Piumbina, & lorde of Orbatella & Porte Hercule; whereof Naples & Scisili doe all moste make half Itali, & the gallies of Naples & Scisili are able to devoure all the other maritime forces of Itali accepte the Venetian fleete; the Duchye of Millan the puissanteste & rychest state of Itali, saue the 2 kingedomes & signorie of Venis.

Genoa is soe bound to him for his protection of it agaynst the Frenche, whoe pretendeth a title of souueranitie ouer that state, & for the infinite sommes of moneye that hee oweth in that state, that the Genoeses are bounde to followe him in all actiones & seruices, as well for state matter as (f. 48^d) for the priuate wealthe of moste of the inhabitantes of the towne.

The Duke of Savoie is (allsoe) tied to him by reason of state, for his defens agaynest the Frenche title for Piemonte and the marquisate of Saluces.¹

Hee is allsoe bounde by allians and by greate pensions, whyche hee & his children haue in the kingedomme of Naples.

The Duke of Parma is forced to the Spanishe faction, for, beside his pension in Naples, the Kinge of Spayne hathe garrisons bothe in Parma & Placentia.²

The Dukes of Urbine³ & Mantua are poore, smalle princes [in the hearte of these Spanishe allyes, and are bounde by pension allsoe.

The Venetian is the greatest, nexte to the Kinge of Spayne, in Itali, by the scituation of theyre towne, theyre greate wealthe, theyre force by sea, whyche surmounteth all the rest of Itali; & then they haue in terra firma in Italy moste parte of (f. 49) Ficuli,⁴ Cremona, Crema, Bressia, Padoa, Bergamo, & diuers other places of

¹ Saluzzo

³ Urbino.

² Piacenza.

⁴ Friuli.

good importans, beside theyre dominion in Sclauonie,¹ Istria, Candi, & other ilandes, whyche I wyll not speake of here bycause they are not of Itali.

The Pope (as a temporall prince) is next to these, for hee is the souuerayne of Rome, with all Romania, the Marke of Ancona,² Bolonese, Ravenna, with the Esarkeshyppe,³ & the Duchyes of Ferara & Spoletum.

The Duke of Florens his force was nowe spoken of.

(f. 50) Rowigo⁴ is a frontiere towne of the Venetians towardes Ferarese; it is a mezana, neither stronge nor yett to weake, but like a Frenche towne, fortified after the olde fashion. There are nowe in garrison in it 900 soldyares, whereof 300 are lighte horse, all Sclavons, Greekes, & Albineses.⁵ To these the Signory hathe giuen to eache 50 duckettes to buye him a horse, & giueth to euerye man 20 duckettes the monethe, & to the capiteynes 60; and hathe imprested⁶ to all 3 monethes paye before hande. The foote are of all nations that wyll cum.

(f. 51) Padoa is a fayre olde towne, & an auntient vniuersitye. It is of noe greate beawtye, in respect of other townes of Itali. There is mutche waste grounde in it within the walles. It is nowe subiect to the Venetians, but was belonginge to the Duchye of Milan in former tyme, & was forfetted to the Venetians for moneye lent on it to Charles the Fifte.⁷

(f. 52) I can saye noe more of Venis but that it is Venis, for yf I shoulde goe about to describe the towne & mannor of theyre gouvernement I am not able to compasse soe greate a labor; & it is soe plentifully wrytten by diuers auctors as it woulde proue a vanity in mee to take it in hande; but I wyll saye somme thinge of theyre present questyon with the Church of Rome.

The causes of the greate quarrell that is nowe betweene the Pope⁸ & the Venetian are principallye 3: the firste, the Venetians feared that moste of theyre lande woulde in tyme fall to the cleargie, & therefore they haue made a lawe that yf anye Venetian shall at his deathe giue anye lande or solide possession to a religious house or Order, the state of Venis is to posses that lande, in giuinge the monastery as mutche moneye out of St. Marke his treasury as the

¹ Slavonia.

² The March of Ancona.

³ Exarchate.

⁴ Rovigo belonged to Venice from the year 1484.

⁵ Albanians.

⁶ To imprest = to advance on loan.

⁷ The Venetians gained possession of Padua in 1404.

⁸ Camillo Borghese, Pope Paul V, May 1605-January 1621

lande is woorth. This decree the (f. 52^d) Pope holdeth verye preiudiciall to his see & auctoritye.

The seconde cause of this rapture is a prohibition made by the Venetians that noe man shall builde any newe monastery or religious house in anye of theyre dominiones without the consent of the Signory, & onely in sutche places as the Senat shall apoynte. This the Venetians decreed vpon mature consideration, bycause they feared that manye men ille affected to theyre State mighte, vnder cullor of buildinge a religious house, fortifye somme place that might proue noyesomme & preiudicialle to the Venetian State. This lawe the Pope holdeth to bee verye vniuste, and dishonorable to the Church.

The thirde reason is that the Venetians, findinge that the Pope & his officers haue binne verye slacke in punishinge the offences of the cleargie, haue inflicted punishment vpon somme offenders, ecclesiasticall men. This the Pope can noe waye endure, & the Venetians wyll not yeele to abrogate anye of theyre former decrees, neyther doe (f. 53) the Venetians obeye the Pope his excommunication; wherevpon the warre is expected, & bothe sides arme.

The Kinge of Spayne hath promised to the Pope all ayde possible, euen to the hazarde of his owne person.

The Venetians cheyffe relians is vpon theyre infinite wealthe; the nexte is the Kinge his Maiestye & the Protestant princes of Germanie; but they will not vse this tramontane helpe accepte meere necessitye force them vnto it.

Touchinge the Frenche Kinge,¹ hee is not declared openlye on eyther parte, though some Venetian gentlemen of good accompte haue tolde mee that hee is firmlye for them, but I belue it not; yett they founde theyre assurans vpon this reason: that the Frenche Kinge hauinge taken vpon him to accommodate this differens, the Pope gaue the Frenche embassador² soe soure an aunswere that the Frenche Kinge dyd mutche skorne, & vpon that hath declared himself for the Venetians.

This (f. 53^d) aunswere of the Pope is, I belue, bycause hee beinge meereleye Spanishe woulde gladdelye haue the Kinge of Spayne haue the honor to bee sole vmpire in this greate busines; & that the Frenche Kinge wyll (when the warre is once a foote) enter into Itali on the Venetian parte is verye credible, bycause hee woulde bee verye gladde to oppose himself agaynst the Span-

¹ Henri IV (1589-1610).

² Cardinal François de Joyeuse, Archbishop of Rouen (1562-1615).

yarde in Itali, that hee might haue cause to trouble the Duchye of Milan.

But howe the Frenche shall enter into Itali is a matter of greate difficultye: for fyrste, they shall finde greate opposition by the Duke of Savoi in theyre passinge throughrout Piemont; secondlye, the passinge of an army ouer the Alpes is a matter of mutche labour & hazarde, the 3rde & laste difficultye is the forte builte vpon the Po by Cont de Fuentes,¹ whiche is soe stronge as it is impregnable, & seated in sutche sorte (f. 54) that a dog can not passe by it without leaue.

The Kinge of Spayne can, on the other side, enter presentelye into the Venetian State, without anye obstacle, hauinge allreadye greate forces in the kingedomes of Naples & Scisilie, & the Duchye of Milan, that ioyneth vpon the Venetian State; & the Archdukes of Austria haue Tirolle, Goritia, Carinthia, Carniola, & parte of Sinlye,² with the Duchy of Stiria.

The Duke of Savoi is on the other syde of them; & Ferrara an other waye, whose territory boundeth vpon them; & the State of Genoa on the other; soe as the Venetians are, as it wer, beseydged by the Papistes & Spaniardes & theyre allyes.

Neyther can the Frenche sende anye helpe by sea, bycause the Spaniarde is farre to potent for him in the Mediterranean Sea; soe the Venetian is (in apparens) like to haue the worste ende of the staffe in the beginninge of the warre; & all Itali is like to suffer yf the begun breache turne to a warre, bycause there is soe general a dearthe throughrout all Italy allreadye (f. 54^d) as is a thinge almoste incredible, whyche ioyned to the other calamityes of the warre is like to proue a moste terrible scourge to the whole cuntrye.

And howe this quarrell shoulde bee taken vppe is allmoste vnpossible, for the Venetians wyll not truste the Spaniarde to bee theyr vmpire, nor the Pope the Frenche, & bothe partys holde the Duke of Florens to meane a person for soe greate an enterprize.

The Kinge his Maiestye can not enterpose himself in this cause, for the differens between His Maiestye & the Pope in matters of religion, & the Emperour,³ whose auctoritye wer to ende all, sleepeth.

(f. 55) The Iesuittes, the commune disturbers of peace & tranquillitye, haue bynne greate actors to kindle this fyre, & for yt,

¹ Pedro Henriquez de Acevedo, Conde de Fuentes, governor of Milan, 1600-10.

² This seems to refer to the eastern (Austrian) part of Friuli.

³ Rudolf II, Emperour 1576-1612

they are banished out of the Signory of Venis, as (in tyme) they wyll bee, noe doubt, out of all Christendomme, for they haue noe true frindes of anye prince, but onelye the Kinge of Pole,¹ & the Duke of Baviere,² whoe are bothe more preystely then princelye in theyre mannor of liuinge.

The Kinge of Spayne doeth alreadye begin to mislike theyre potensye and toe greate wealthe whyche they haue, & therefore doeth secretlye seeke to streyghten theyre power, but doeth & wyll vse them as cheyffe & principall instrumentes, soe longe as they stande & floarishe as they doe.

Neyther dareth hee doe other, bycause they are soe potent in the Romishe Churche as cleargi men; yett the Pope dyd noe doubt shoote at them the laste yeere, when hee propounded to the Colledge of Cardinales that there wer to manye newe Orders of religious men (f. 55^d) and that hee woulde reforme all that wer vnder 300 yeeres standinge, emongest whyche are bothe the Capuignes & Jesuittes; & hee hathe noe quarrell to the former.

To the latter hee hathe, bycause when hee was Cardinall Burgese hee did receaue a greate affronte by the Jesuites: when hee desired to bee the Protector of Englande (all kingdommes of the woarld, though the noe waye subiect to the Papall See, are put vnder the protection of somme cardinal, & the Pope giueth a pension to sutche Cardinales Protectors out of Saint Peter his treasouri, & it is greate or les accordinge to the dignitye of the kingdome) the Jesuittes crossed him in this suite, & cheyffely Parsons,³ & forced him to bee contented with Scottelande.

The Jesuittes, for temporall power, are exeedinge potent, for they haue more wealthe then all the other Orders besides; & soe princes beginne to feare them nowe, whom they (at the firste) dyd rayse, (f. 56) & the more bycause they are sutche busye meddelers in state matters, a thinge verye ille beseeminge ecclesiasticall persons; but as longe as they stande, all princes Papistes will cherishe them; & it is feare, not loue, that makethe the Frenche Kinge honor & embrace them as hee doeth. The Templers had once the same power & greatenes that these haue, but they cam to

¹ Sigismund III of Poland (1587-1632).

² This must be Duke William V (d. 1626), a devout pupil of the Jesuits, who retired to a monastery in 1597. The Jesuits had gone to Bavaria in 1542; in 1556 a Jesuit College had been founded in connection with the University of Ingolstadt, which became the German headquarters of the Society.

³ Robert Parsons (1546-1610), Rector of the English College at Rome

suddeyne confusion, as all thinges once growen out of due proportion muste needes doe; & these are like er longe to loose 2 of theyre mayne pillars: the one the King of Polande; for yf this kinge wer once deade, it is certeyne that the Palatines of Polande wyll haue noe more Jesuitticall kinges; & the Prince of Baviere is theyre sworne enemye, by reason of a box of the eare, whyche his father gaue him for theyre sakes somme 2 yeeres sins, whiche blowe hee hathe sworne to revendge yf euer hee cum to haue absolute power in his owne hande.

(f. 57) Trente is a fayre, olde towne, sett in a valley betweene 4 greate mounteynes of the Alpes. It is walled, but it is a place of noe strengthe, & is onely famous for the general Councell that was helde there.¹ There is a hall in whyche the Counsell was kepte, the hanginges whereof coste 300000 crownes.

(f. 58) Iseburghe, alias Insbrooke, is the cheyffe citey of Tirol; it is sommewhat aboute the bignes of Leyden.

The houses there are verye beautifullye sett out, with fayre payntings & grauen stones. There are 2 moste notable thinges to bee seene there. The one is a wyndowe in the state house, arched ouer with a pentis of 4 yardes longe, & well nighe 2 yardes deepe, & the pentis is couered with pure, massiffe golde, as the townesmen saye, & yf it bee not golde, I knowe not what mettalle it shoulde bee. The other is: there are 24 images or statues of brasse, made for the 12 firste Emperors of Germanie & theyre wyues, sett in the church of Santa Croce, all exellentelye cutte, with greate arte.

The Archduke Maximilian² keepeth his courte here. Hee is a prince of a reasonable stature, of a graue aspect, somme maiestye in his countenans, but verye slowe of speache. Hee is verye gracious & curteous.

(f. 59) Augusta, in Dutche Ausburghe, is a verye auntient towne, builded by Augustus Caesar. It is a verye fayre towne, beautified with monye & exellent buildinges. It is a riche state, that is a free imperiall towne gouerned like a republica by themselues & magistrates of theyre owne elected by the citisens.

The mannor of theyre gouernement is democraticall: of 12 noble-men of the citey, chosen by the people, & theyre offis dureth but a yeere.

¹ The Council of Trent, 1545-63.

² The Archduke Maximilian, brother to the Emperor Rudolf and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was Governor of Tyrol.

Naclerus hath nowe obteyned the cheyffe gouvernement duringe his liffe. Hee is a man of greate learninge & wysedomme, a counsellor of state to the Emperor, & mutche addicted to the whole house of Austria.

The one half of the citisens are Lutherans, & the other half Papistes, & there are seuerall churches for bothe religions in the towne.

(f. 60) The Emperor founde himselfe ille holpen by the Christian princes this sommer passed, 1606, & was soe pressed by Boskeye (that forcibly & rebelliously made himself vaynod¹ of Transilvania, & after ioyned with the Turke) & therefore he was forced to seeke peace² of this rebell, whyche (at laste) hee dyd obteyne, with moste base and vilde conditiones for the Imperialle Maiestye: for fyrste, Boskey is to remeyn vainod, & to yeele onelye to the Emperor certeyne townes of Hungary not of greatest importans; then Boskey bindeth the Emperor to make peace with the Turke, whoe is nowe soe weake as hee is not able to holde vppe his heade yf the Emperor wer not bounde to accomde with him, for hee was not able to sende aboue 16000 Turkes into Hungary this laste yeere; & there is nowe a more readye waye to ruine the Turkes then all the warres & rebellions of his owne men that are vpon his backe; (f. 60^d) and yt is thus: to sende a handesomme fleete to make a good shewe with 10000 men, well armed, to lande, & armes to furnishe 100000 men. I would wyshe for this entreprise 50 shyppes, & 30 or 40 gallyes at the moste.

This wyll make all the Greekes in Morœa, Epire, & a greate parte of Macedon to revolte, & all the ilandes, soe a man doe commaunde that hath prattique & acquayntans with somme principall Greekes of vnderstandinge & esteeme; & the action wyllbee the more easye yf God frende the Christian fleete to meete the Turke his gallyes, for yf they bee beaten the Christians shall neuer neede to drawe one swoorde for the rest.

The chardge of this army wyll onelye bee the firste settinge of it out, & victualles for 6 moneths, & paye for the principalle officers for soe longe; for in lesse space then that the Ilandes wyll all yeele, & will affoorde royall paye and victualles for the armye; & (f. 61) within the compas of a yeere there wyll bee founde royalle meanes in the terra firma of Greece to repaye the firste dispended chardge.

¹ Voivod. Stephen Bocskai was invested with the Voivodship of Transylvania and the kingdom of Hungary in 1605. See p. 8 above.

² Peace of Zsitva-Torok, November 1606.

I wyll vndertake this vpon the hazarde of my heade, yf God please to sende healthe & seasonable weather ; & the ilandes beinge taken, wyll starue Constantinople in lesse tyme then can bee imagined ; for the Turkes are soe vnprovidente, & soe sclenderlye furnished with all kinde of victualle, that there is a greate dearthe in Constantinople yf theyre shyppes that bringe corne from Alexandria & the Arches staye out but 3 weykes beyonde the limited tyme of theyre returne ; & I doe assure myself that there is not at this houre corne in the citey to serue it ten weykes ; & though the Turkes bee noe greater eaters of fleshe & fishe & other delicates, yett they are mightye deuourers of breade & oylle, & can woors endure to streyghtened of those foodes then anye other nation.

(f. 62) Vlme is a riche state, seated vpon the Danubio. It is well fortified, & mutche lesse then Augusta, but the territory greater. It is one of the richest townes in Germain. All the inhabitants are Protestantes ; theyre gouuernement is in forme of republica, as all riche states are.

Stocker,¹ where the Duke of Wirtembergue keepeth his courte, is sutche a filthye durtye olde towne, as is not woorth the remembrans, but for the Duke his sake who resideth there.

(f. 63) Hedelburgue is a fine towne, seated between 2 hilles, vpon the riuier of Neckar that falleth into the Rhine aboute 15 miles from thens.

The Palsegrau² keepeth his courte there in the castell, where is a moste goodlye pallas.

I was verye honorably commended to Monsieure Hipolito de Colli, the president of his counsell. Hee cam to mee as soone as I was cum to myne inne, & shewed mee all thinges woorth the seinge in the towne.

The nexte daye I was sent for to dinnar to the Palsegrau.

The solemnitye that hee vseth at his table is woorth the notinge. Firste there is a longe table for himself vnder a cloathe of estate, then there are 5 other tables in the same roome, 4 square boordes on one syde, & one longe on the other. At the first of the 4 the Princesses 6 women sitte ; at the seconde the Counsell ; at the thirde the gentlemen courtiers ; at the fourthe the chamberlaynes

¹ Stuttgart. Frederick I (1557-1608) was then Duke of Wurtemberg.

² Pfalzgraf = Count Palatine The author was entertained by Frederick IV (1574-1610), whose son, afterwards Frederick V, married Elizabeth the "Queen of Hearts."

& pages that weyght not that daye; at the longe boorde on the other syde the weyghters.

The mannor of the ceremonie is thus: firste, as soone as the tables are couered, all the Counsell, & all gentlemen, (f. 63^d) as well straungers as others, assemble in that chamber, & stande agaynest the Prince chamber doore, whyche is at the nether ende of that chamber. Then the marshall taketh his staffe in his hande. Then the Countes Electris cummeth out into the chamber (shee is a verye grand princes, & of excellent behauioure); shee leadeth the Elector his sister by the hande: then the Princesse (for soe shee is called) the Elector his eldest daughter doeth followe hir, leadeinge hir aunte, the Electorices sister, by the hande: then the 2 younger daughters followe, hande in hande.

These princesses salute all the gentlemen in generall, & the straundgers in particular, & then they goe vppe to the Elector his table, & there stande with theyre backs to the boorde. Then all the Electrices women cum out 2 & 2, & make a reverente curtesye to the Electris, & after to the gentlemen in the chamber, & then take theyre places as the princesses dyd, but at an other table. Then the Elector cummeth out, & saluteth the princesses, & after all the companie. Then hee & the Electris sitte at the boordes (f. 64) ende, the reste of the princesses at one side of the boarde. Then the marshall poynteth with his staffe to somme one, & hee followeth him; then the marshall layeth his staffe vpon the chayre where this man muste sitte. All men sitt bare headed at that table and thouroughe the whole haule.

The Elector his courte is verye greate, hee feedeth 800 mouthes euerye daye. Himself is a verye weake man, & of noe vnderstandinge. All his affayres are manadged by Hipolito de Colli, a wyse & prudent man.

The Protestant faythe is professed there, or rather the Puritan, for there are noe bishoppes.

(f. 65) Woormes is a fayre towne vpon the Rhine. It is a riche state. All Christian faythes are professed & tolerated there, but the temporalle magistrate is a Protestante, & that towne is in greate awe of the Paulesgraue bycause theyre state is in the bowelles of his cuntry. Theyre magistrate is intituled Consul.

I can not saye that of Mayensa¹ that it meriteth, bycause I stayed soe little there as I had not tyme to see it. I dyd onelye goe into the Cathedrall church, whyche is soe greate, & soe full of

¹ Mainz.

admirable thinges as yt alone woulde aske 4 dayes woorke to take a whole veywe of it.

(f. 66) Colleyne ¹ is an archebishoppricke, & the Bishoppe thereof is the laste of the 3 spirituall Electors. Hee hathe noe commaunde in his cite, but maye onelye abide there 3 dayes in the yeere. His cheyffe residens is in Westefalia. Hee is younger brother to the Duke of Westfalia. His name is Ernestus.²

This citi was builded by Agripina, the grandedaughter of Augustus, wyffe to Cesar Germanicus, & mother of Caligula.

It is a riche state, gouerned as other imperiall cities are. The Protestantes are tollerated there, but haue noe churches. In the Cathedrale church are the bodies of the 3 kinges that came to visitte Our Sauour at His Natiuitie. There is an other church, where the boanes of St. Vrsula are & the 11000 virgins that suffered martirdomme with hir.

(f. 67) Lombardye (as mutche as I haue seene of it) is a moste fertile cuntrye, lowe, & full of ditches like the Lowe Cuntrye, vntille one cum neere the Alpes, & then it riseth sommewhat higher. It is full of goodlye townes, sweete riuers, & abundantly ritche in wyne & corne. The feyldes are full of trees planted by man his hande, in sutche order that they hunder not the groweth of the corne vnder them, & the vines growe agaynest them; soe a man hathe his breade, wyne, and fewell in one feylde.

I passed in it from Francoline ³ to Crine ⁴ at the foote of the Alpes, whyche is 127 mile.

(f. 68) Germanie (for as mutche as I haue seene of it) is verry variablie deuded.

From Burgo ⁵ to Persoia ⁶ in the Duchye of Baviere is 240 mile, all emongest the Alpes. In this space is conteyned the teritorye of Trent & Tirolle.

Tirolle is a greate & rytche cuntrye vnder the Archeduke Maximilian. This cuntrye (thoughe it bee Alpes) yett it is full of verry good & rytche vallyes abundant with corne & wyne. The mounteynes themselues are full of wooddes in moste places.

From Persoia the Duke of Baviere his cuntrye reacheth within 4 mile of Augusta, whyche maketh 70 mile. This cuntrye is for

¹ Cologne.

² The Elector Ernest of Cologne (1583-1612), brother of Duke Wilham V of Bavaria.

³ Francolino.

⁵ Possibly Bergamo.

⁴ Probably a mistake for Como.

⁶ Possibly Partenkirchen.

the moste parte champion¹ & pleyne, but verye barreyne, & soe is all the rest of Baviere, as I vnderstande. There are noe more vineyardes betweene this place & the Duchye of Wyrtenbergue.

The territory of Augusta is verye smalle, but from thens to the territory of Vlme rytche corne grounde with somme wooddes (f. 68^d) sprinkled. Vlme is soe toe.

The Duchye of Wyrtenbeargue is the richest land & foulest wayes that I founde in Germanie. The cuntrye is full of vines & corne, the lande like Lecestershyre.

The Palesgraue his cuntrye is not soe rytche lande as the other, but a farre larger dominion. Hee is the firste temporall prince of Germanie after the Emperor.

There are noe Protestant bishoppes in Germanie, but where Protestant princes reyne they haue put downe all bishoppes, & haue reduced the Churche gouernement into that forme whyche our Puritans desire for theyre discipline; & that maketh the greate confusion that is emongest them, for you shall not cum into 2 dominions where you shall finde the like ceremounys and orders.

The Lutherans haue crosses & other images in theyre churches, the Duke of Wyrtenbergue hathe onely crosses, & organs, the Palesgraue hathe neyther.

They are deuided (f. 69) into diuers sectes: as Lutherans, Zwinglians, Caluenistes, Protestantes, and Puritans, & somme Anabaptistes. They all name themselues Gospellers. All these hate eache other mortallye; onely they agree in banishinge bishoppes—and confusion. They obserue noe fastes nor feastes.

The commune wealthe of Woormes is not mutche differente from the nature of the lande in the Palesgraue his cuntrye. Further I knowe not, for there I tooke the Rhyne, whyche is the moste goodlye riuer that I haue yett binne vpon; it runneth with a moste forcible currante, broade and deepe. I sawe noethinge woorth the notinge there but the towne in an ile where the Bishoppe of Magunza² was deuoured by rattes, written of by Munster.

(f. 70) The Imperiall Diette is apoynted to bee at Ratisbona the 23th of Aprille nexte.³

It is called for 2 principalle endes: & the firste is to treat aboute the peace with the Turke, whyche can not bee concluded without

¹ Flat open country.

² Mainz.

³ This is the Diet eventually held at Ratisbon in January 1608, when the place with the Turks and the election of the King of the Romans were in fact the chief subjects for discussion. See Introduction, p. vi.

the Electors, bycause the Turke wyll conclude his peace with the Empire as well as with the Emperor ; but the princes are vnwillinge to this peace, bycause they doe knowe the Turke his weakenes.

The seconde cause is to electe a newe Kinge of the Romans, whyche wyll bee a matter of greate difficultye, bycause the whole Empire is wearye of the House of Austria, & they knowe not howe to finde anye other familye where they maye electe ; for His Maiestye can not beare it by reason of the spirituall Electors, whoe wyll none of him bycause of his religion.

The Kinge of Dennemarke ¹ & all the temporalle princes Electors are in the same (f. 70) case.

The Frenche Kinge is holden noe fitte man for the Empire, leaste hee shoulde (hauinge the imperiall crowne on his heade) seeke to make it hereditary to him as a descendent from Charlemeyne.

The Prince of Baviere ² is the likeste to carye it, yett hee wyll finde greate opposition by sutche as favoure the house of Austria ; but yf they bee forced to the house of Austria they wyll electe the Archeduke Maximilian, whoe is the moste esteemed man of that house, though hee bee not mutche reputed.³

¹ Christian IV (1588-1648).

² Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573-1651), who had succeeded on his father's abdication in 1597. See p. 31 n.

³ Here the narrative ends on f. 70, and on f. 90 appears the Table of Contents printed on p. 39. The numbers refer to the folios of the manuscript. Identifications, where these seemed necessary, have been supplied in square brackets.

(f. 90) The state of Turkie.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Turki trade.	12, 13, 14.
Turki wronges.	15, 16, 17, 18.
Embassadars in Turkie.	19, 20.
Constantinople.	21.
Troye.	23.
Negroponte.	24.
Thessalonica.	25.
Turki fortes.	26.
Cyprus.	27.
Candi.	28.
Millo. [Milos]	29.
Zante.	30.
Corfu.	31.
Ottranto.	32.
Lecha. [Lecce]	32
Mola	32.
Canosa	33.
Ascoli.	34.
Apulia.	35, 36.
Citye of Naples.	37, 38.
Gaietta.	39.
Porte Hercule.	40.
Ciuita Vechia.	41.
Ligorna. [Leghorn]	42.
Pisa.	43.
Florens.	44
Bolonia.	45.
Ferara, & states of Itali.	46, 47, 48, 49.
Rowigo.	50.
Padoa.	51.
Venis, & the Pope.	52, 53, 54.
The Jesuittes.	55, 56.
Trente.	57.
Isburghe. [Innsbruck]	58.
Augusta.	59.
The Emperour, Turke & Greekes.	60, 61.
Vlmes, & Stocker. [Stuttgart]	62.
Hedelbergue. [Heidelberg]	63, 64.
Woormes, & Mayensa. [Mainz]	65.
Colleyne. [Cologne]	66.
Lombardye.	67.
Germanie.	68, 69.
The Diette.	70.

INDEX

A

'Abbās I, Shāh, 6-8.
 Achaia, 16.
 Adrianople (Andrinople), 6, 15.
 Adriatic Sea, 19.
 Africa, 7
 Ahmad I, Sultan, 3-5, 11-15, 33,
 37-38.
 Albanians, 19, 28
 Aleppo, 7, 9.
 Alessandro, Ottaviano Bon di,
 11 *n*
 Alexandretta. *See* Iskandarun.
 Alexandria, 9, 34.
 Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara,
 25.
 Algiers (Argier), 8-13.
 Alps, 30, 32, 36-37.
 Anabaptists, 37.
 Ancona, 28.
 Andrinople. *See* Adrianople.
 Ansidonia, 23 *n*.
 Apulia (Puglia), 19-20
 Arabia, Arabs, 1 *n*, 7, 9.
 Archipelago (Arches), the, 16-17,
 34.
 Arezzo (Ragio), 26.
 Argentiera. *See* Kimolos
 Argerimen. *See* Azerbaijan.
 Argier. *See* Algiers
 Armenia, the Armenians, 8-9
 Arno, river, 24.
 Arnold, Captain, 13-14.

Ascoli, 20.
 — Prince of, 20.
 Asia, 7-8, 17.
 Augsburg (Augusta), 25 *n*., 32,
 34, 36.
 Austria, House of, 30, 33, 38.
 Azerbaijan (Argerimen), 7.

B

Babylon. *See* Baghdad
 Baghdad, 7.
 Baltic, the, 24 *n*.
 Barbary, 13.
 Bavaria, dukes of Bavaria, 31-
 32, 36-38.
 Benevento, Conde de, 20.
 Bentivogli family, 25.
 Bergamo, 27, 36 *n*.
 Bertucci, Francesco Contarini di,
 11 *n*.
 Black Sea, 16.
 Bocskai, Stephen, 8, 33.
 Bologna (Bologna), 25, 28.
 Borghese, Cardinal. *See* Paul V,
 Pope
 Brescia, 27.
 Burgo. *See* Bergamo.

C

Calvenists, 37.
 Candia. *See* Crete.
 Canosa, 19-20.
 Capucins, 31.

Caramante. *See* Qaraman.
 Carinthia, 30.
 Carniola, 30.
 Carystos, 16 *n*.
 Castel dell'Ovo, 22.
 Castell Rouse, 16.
 Castello Nuovo, 21.
 Castro, Conde de, 22-23.
 Cefano. *See* Siphnos.
 Cesare d'Este, 25-26.
 Charles V, Emperor, 20, 23, 26, 28.
 China, 9
 Chios (Gio, Scio), 3, 10.
 Christian IV of Denmark, 38
 Civita Vecchia, 23
 Clement VIII, Pope, 25-26.
 College of Cardinals, 31.
 Colli, Hipolito de, 34-35.
 Cologne, 36.
 — Elector of, 36.
 Como, 36 *n*.
 Constantinople, vi, viii, 2, 4-6, 8 *n*, 9-17, 34.
 Corfu, 19.
 Corinth, 3.
 Cosham House, vii.
 Cosimo dei Medici, 23-24, 26.
 Crema, 27.
 Cremona, 27
 Crete (Candi), 17, 28
 Crine. *See* Como.
 Cyprus, 3, 5, 12-13, 17.

D

Damascus, 7, 10.
 Danube, river, 34.
 Denmark, 38.

E

East India Company, vii-viii.
 East Indies, 9.
 Egypt, 8, 17.
 Elba (Lelbo), 26.
 Elizabeth, Queen, v.

Elizabeth, "Queen of Hearts," 34 *n*.
 Empire, Holy Roman, 8, 12, 14, 30, 32-33, 36-38
 England, the English, vi, 3, 7-15, 21, 24, 25 *n*, 29-31, 39.
 English College at Rome, 31 *n*.
 Epirus (Epire), 3, 19, 33
 Ernest, Elector of Cologne, 36.
 Essex, Earl of, v.
 Este, House, of, 25-26.
 Eubœa, 16
 Euphrates, river, 7.

F

Famagusta, 17.
 Ferdinand dei Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 23-26, 28, 30.
 Ferrara, 25-26, 28, 30
 Fetiplace, Captain, 13.
 — Sir John, 13.
 — Sir Richard, 13
 Ficuli *See* Friuli.
 FitzGerald, Sir William, v.
 Florence, 21 *n*, 23-28, 30.
 France, the French, 2-3, 8-10, 12, 14, 21-22, 27, 29-31, 38.
 Francesco dei Medici, 23 *n*.
 Francolino, 36
 Frederick I, Duke of Wurtemberg, 34.
 Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, 34-35.
 Frederick V, Elector Palatine, 34 *n*.
 Friuli, 27, 30.
 Fuentes, Conde de, 30.

G

Gaeta, 22-23.
 Galata (Golata), 7, 15.
 Gallipoli, vi, 16-17.
 Genoa, 4 *n*, 19, 24-25, 27, 30.
 Germany, vi, viii, 28-29, 31-38.

Gibraltar, Straits of, 3.
 Gio *See* Chios
 Girolamo, Giovanni Mocenigo di,
 11 *n*
 Giustiniani, Benedetto, 25.
 — family, 25
 Gorz (Gorizia), 30.
 Gospellers, 37.
 Greece, Greek Islands, the
 Greeks, 3 *n*, 8–9, 12–19, 28,
 33–34.

H

Hart Hall, Oxford, v.
 Hasan Pasha, 4.
 Heidelberg (Hedelburgue), 34.
 Henri IV, 3, 14, 29–31, 38.
 Hungary, 8, 33

I

India, 9.
 Indies, West, 27.
 Ingolstadt, 31 *n*.
 Innsbruck (Iseburghe), 32.
 Ireland, the Irish, v, 21.
 Iskandarun (Scanderomie), 10.
 Istria, 28
 Italy, v–vi, viii, 19–30, 36.

J

Jalālī Rebellion, 7.
 James I of England, 14, 24, 29–
 30, 39.
 Janissaries, 5–8.
 Jesuits, 30–32.
 Jews, 1, 10, 14–16.
 Joyeuse, Cardinal de, 29.

K

Kimolos, 18.

L

Lecce (Lecha), 19.
 Leghorn (Ligorna), 23–24, 26.
 Leicester, Earl of, vii.
 Lelbo. *See* Elba.

Lello, Henry, 13.
 Lemos, Conde de, 23 *n*.
 Levant trade, vii–viii, 13 *n*.
 Ligorna. *See* Leghorn.
 Lombardy, 25, 36
 Lucca, 26–27.
 Lutherans, 33, 37.

M

Macedonia, 3, 8, 16, 33.
 Mainz (Magunza, Mayensa), 35–
 37.
 Malta (Molta), 9.
 Mantua, Duke of, 21, 27.
 Mary Ann, the, 13
 Mary Rose, the, 12–13
 Matthew, Sir Tobie, 21 *n*.
 Maximilian, Archduke, 32, 36,
 38.
 Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria,
 32, 38
 Mecca, 9.
 Mediterranean Sea, 3, 18, 30.
 Milan, 27–28, 30.
 Milos (Millo), 9, 17–18.
 Modena, 25–26.
 Modon, 3.
 Mola, 19.
 Morocco, 21 *n*.
 Morœa, 16, 33
 Moscovite, the, 14.
 Muhammad III, Sultan, 4.
 Murād III, Sultan, 4, 7 *n*.
 Mustata Pasha, 4.

N

Naples, vi, 20–22, 23 *n*., 27, 30.
 Naclerus, 33.
 Neckar, river, 34.
 Negropont, vi, 3, 5, 8 *n*., 16.
 Netherlands, v, 36.
 Newport, vii.
 Nicosia, 17.
 Nixon, Anthony, vi.
 Noche, Duke de la, 19.

O

Oglander, Sir John, vii-viii.
Orbetello, 23, 26-27.
Otranto, 19.
Oxford, v.

P

Padua, 27-28
Palatinate, the, 34-35, 37.
Palestine, 7.
Papacy, the, 23, 25-26, 28-31
Paphos, 17
Parkhurst Forest, vii
Parma, Duke of, 21, 27.
Parsons, Robert, 31.
Partenkirchen, 36 n.
Paul V, Pope, 28-31.
Peloponnese, 16.
Persia, vii, 4 n., 6-9.
Persoia *See* Partenkirchen.
Philip III of Spain, 20-21, 23,
26-27, 29-31
Piacenza (Placentia), 27.
Piedmont, 27, 30
Piombino, 26-27.
Pisa, 24, 26.
Pistoia, 26.
Pizzofalcone (Pitche Falcone),
22.
Placentia. *See* Piacenza
Po, river, 25, 30.
Poland, the Poles, 9-10, 14, 21,
31-32.
Port 'Ercole (Porte Hercule), 23,
26-27.
Porto Ferraio, 26.
Portugal, v.
Posilippo (Puttesola), 22.
Puglia. *See* Apulia.
Puritans, 35, 37.
Puttesola. *See* Posilippo

Q

Qaraman (Caramante), 7

R

Ragio *See* Arezzo
Ratisbon, vi, 37.
Ravenna, 28
Red Sea, 9
Reggio (Regia), 25-26.
Rhine, river, 34-35, 37.
Rhodes, 5
Romagna, 28
Romans, King of the, 37 n., 38.
Rome, 28, 31.
Rovigo, 28
Rudolf II, Emperor, 8, 12, 14, 30,
32 n., 33.

S

St Elmo, Castle of, 21
St. Paul's, 19
St. Sophia, Church of, 15.
St Stephen, Order of, 24.
St. Ursula, Church of, 36
Salignac, M de, 14.
Salonika, 16-17.
Saluzzo (Saluces), 27.
Sardinia, 9.
Savoy, Duke of, 21, 27, 30.
Scanderomie. *See* Iskandarun.
Schio (Sio), 25.
Scio. * *See* Chios.
Scodra, 3
Scotland, the Scots, 3, 21, 31.
Scutari (Scuderett), Straits of,
16.
Selim II, Sultan, 4
Seraglio, the, 13, 15.
Sherley, Sir Anthony, v-vi, viii,
21 n., 25 n.
— Sir Robert, v-viii, 25 n.
— Sir Thomas *Passim*.
— Sir Thomas, the elder, v, vii,
ix.
Sicily (Scisili), 21, 27, 30.
Sidney, Sir Philip, v, vii.
Siena (Siduna), 26.
Sigismund III of Poland, 31-32.

Sinan Pasha, 4 *n*
 Sinlye. *See* Friuli
 Siphnos, 18.
 Slavonia (Sclauonye), 3, 28
 Spahis, 5-6
 Spain, the Spaniards, 3, 8, 19-23,
 26-27, 29-31
 Spoleto, 28.
 Staper, Richard, 13.
 Steyning, vii.
 Stocker. *See* Stuttgart.
 Strozzi, Palazzo, 24
 Stuttgart (Stocker), 34.
 Styria, 30.
 Sulayman, Mosque of, 15
 Syria, 7.

T

Tabriz (Taurus), 7.
 Taylor, Judith, vii.
 Thessalonica, 5, 16-17.
 Thrace, 15.
 Tiflis. *See* Tabriz.
Timāri, 6.
 Toris, 20-21.
 Transylvania, 8 *n.*, 33
 Trent, 32, 36.
 Tripoli, 13.
 Troy, 16.
 Tunis, 8.
 Turkey, Turkish Empire, the
 Turks, vi-viii, 1-19, 24,
 33-34, 37-38.

Tuscany, 23-26.

Tyrol, 30, 32, 36.

U

Ulm (Vlme), 34, 37.

Urbino (Vrbine), Duke of, 21, 27.

V

Van, Lake, 7.

Vavasour, Frances, v.

— Thomas, v.

Venice, the Venetians, 3, 9-12,

 14-19, 25 *n.*, 27-31.

— Gulf of, 3, 19

Vineyard, the, 9

W

Westphalia, 36.

— Duke of, 36.

Wight, Isle of, vii.

William V, Duke of Bavaria, 31,

 36 *n.*

Willoughby, Lord, v.

Wiston, v, vii.

Worms, 35, 37

Württemberg (Wyrtingbergue),

 Duke of, 34, 37.

Z

Zante, 18-19.

Zsitva-Torok, Peace of, 33 *n.*

Zutphen, v, vii.

Zwinglians, 37.

A
RELATION OF A SHORT SURVEY
OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES

Made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company
in Norwich in 1635

EDITED
FOR THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

At the close of the *Relation of a short survey of 26 counties observed in a seven weeks' journey begun on 11 August, 1634, by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the Military Company in Norwich*,¹ the "courteous reader" was invited by an anonymous writer of verse to

Receive it only as a preparation
For a more large and long itneration

and it is not unfitting that in the tercentenary of the fulfilment of this promise, the account of the tour to the south and west of England should be offered to the Royal Historical Society.

In this enterprise, which proved to be neither so large nor so long as that of the year before, for the mileage was less and the pace more leisurely, the Lieutenant was not accompanied by the Captain and the Ancient, and we are therefore able to appraise the Lieutenant's character and opinions with the more confidence, in that he was left to himself for the formation of his judgements.

It may perhaps be well to repeat that the name of the Lieutenant was Hammond. The proof of this lies in his statement that the town-clerk of Maldon in Essex in 1635, whose name was Nowell Hammond, was the Lieutenant's namesake. I have to thank our Director for making enquiries at Maldon which allayed doubts that arose in my mind on this point during the preparation of this edition. Of his identity I can say no more than I did thirty years ago; but there was a family of Hammonds at Ellingham

¹ Edited in 1904 for the Stuart Series, published by Messrs. F. E. Robinson & Co., where a description of MS. Lansdowne 213 may be read. In this edition, as in that, the author's marginal notes have only been preserved when they definitely add information to what is contained in the text. The punctuation has been modernized.

not far from Bungay in Suffolk, one of whom, Richard by name, was on a list of defaulters in 1632 for not showing arms.¹ But in general there is little to do but to endorse the words of Mark Noble in his *Lives of the Regicides*, that "it is very difficult to exactly distinguish the actions of the military Hammonds."² We may hope he was not Thomas Hammond the regicide, nor his nephew Robert; that family, indeed, did not come from far enough east; we can say with confidence he was not William Hammond the poet, who came from Kent;³ nor was he Edward Hammond the brewer in Middlesex, nor the collector of ship-money of the same name.⁴ He may have been Colonel Francis Hammond,⁵ or the Anthony Hammond who "adventured" for a whole share of 4,000 acres in the Fens,⁶ or again the Captain Hammond whose men importuned the constable of Grantham to be allowed to find substitutes in 1640,⁷ or the Major Hammond who had a fracas with Sergeant-Major Grey and killed him in 1644.⁸ But if so he was on the Parliamentary side. The plain fact is that, considering how common the name is, guessing is useless until we know his Christian name. He seems to have had a legal training; partly because at Harwich he measures extortion in terms of legal payment; partly because he says his namesake's profession at Maldon was much the same as his own; partly because of the mocking interest he shows in the sessions of Romney Marsh and the graver description given of the Eyre of the Forest. He seems to have been a man of education, who could appreciate an epigram in Latin elegiacs, and to have had some social standing, if not political importance. He had friends among the gentlemen in the suites of great lords, and in the royal forces, who all gave him a welcome both in the Navy and in the Army.

The impression made by the first tour as to the character of the Lieutenant is both confirmed and amplified by the second. We see a happy, jovial, friendly man of strong church principles, with a marked bent towards ceremonial, pronounced antiquarian tastes,

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I, Addenda*, 1625-49, p. 441

² London, 1798, Vol. I, p. 277

³ William Hammond, *Occasional Poems*, ed. P. E. Brydges, 1815.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1639

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1640 and 1640-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1637, p. 443. A man of this name was a strong royalist who obtained compensation in Ireland after the Restoration, but this is probably a sea captain of that name (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Pepys MSS.* 274-93)

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1639-40, p. 452

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1644, pp. 396, 397 *et alias*.

and a dislike of the Celts.¹ His joviality is shown by the many draughts of wine and ale and sack taken in company with the parson or the verger or the castle warder or other "merry blades": he joins readily in a sort of coming-of-age party at Canterbury; at Bawdsey in Suffolk he is delighted to find some friends from Norwich engaged in an aquatic party by river and sea, and joins with them, on land, in partaking of their wine and "salacious" oysters, although, be it noted, there was no R in the month. Even when the young French lady who rode so hard on the road to Canterbury undressed in public in the inn, he is not so much shocked as surprised and amused, and is ready to condone her behaviour on learning that it was the custom of her country. Nothing here savours of the traditional Puritan, and in general it may be said that his leaning towards such splendour in human life as is afforded by decency and ceremonial in church, by state and comfort among lords and knights, coupled with a kindly and intelligent toleration of the strange and unaccustomed, makes us anticipate that, if he were still alive in 1642, his sword would have been drawn for the King, and not for his more bigoted opponents.

His interest in forms and ceremonies is very clear, and his love of conceits inveterate. The last page or so of the journal is devoted to a catalogue in which everything is based on the number seven, corresponding to the weeks of the journey, so that one is tempted to think that at that moment, to use the language of Archbishop Cranmer, the Lieutenant had "fallen headlong into a Jewish dotage," but he is not always extravagant like this. He observes the salutes exchanged between the shore batteries and ships sailing in and out of Portsmouth Harbour, and he obviously approves of the Laudian restoration of comeliness and decency in churches. Not a word does he write in disapproval of the hangings shown him at Winchester Cathedral, so that he appears to us as what would have been called a high-churchman in the nineteenth century, and it is therefore not surprising that he is horrified at what he calls "wildness" or irreverence in the conduct of the services. His diatribe against the parson at Crowland, and the not

¹ This may be seen not merely in the remarks he makes about the Scots in the tour of 1634, but in the way he avoids Wales, his rather contemptuous language about the Cornishmen (p. 78), and in what seems to us the rather cheap gibe at the expense of the pluralist Dean of Winchester. After a list of his benefices we get the words "£500, a Scot" (p. 44 n).

very cryptic sneer about Banbury,¹ "as full of ale as of zeal," indicate that slackness and Puritanism in its dourer aspects had few charms for him. Misappropriation of church property meets with his stern disapproval; even the dissolution of the monasteries, though a century had all but passed, makes him shake his head, for while he has little sympathy for the lazy monks, and is of opinion that the monasteries deserved their fate, he cannot but lament the alienation of their property into lay hands, and the sacrilegious destruction thereby entailed of beautiful works of art. Yet withal he has a practical side in his nature, and a strain of realism which calls a halt to too extravagant a fancy. At Enstone he visits Thomas Bushell's hermitage, grotto and fountains (now all vanished) and describes them with a detail that challenges comparison with the pages devoted to them in Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*; but still, he asks, what purpose can be served in a man spending such large sums of money on so preposterous a piece of work, and—another hint perhaps of legal training—on ground that was not even freehold? The Earl of Pembroke, indeed, had made just as ingenious a contrivance at Wilton; but after all, he was an earl and not a hermit, and it looks as though, in the Lieutenant's mind, this made a great deal of difference.

Such variety indeed is there in our author's interests that the legal antiquary also will find something at his hand. The account given of the Eyre of the Forest held at Winchester on 24 and 25 August describes what was one of the last of the courts of this kind ever held. Revived by the King as a legal means of increasing the revenue, they were all swept away as a consequence of the Great Rebellion. From the Lieutenant's account, one would think that procedure in the Court, as in the recently abolished manorial courts, had become to some extent formal, consisting in calling upon certain persons to do suit and service, and ending with a harangue from the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas on the relation of the Common Law to that of the Forest, backed by historical arguments. But as we know from the case of the Earl of Southampton, proceedings in these courts in Hampshire were anything but formal. Presumably, if the analogy with manorial courts holds good, a banquet followed, but of this we hear nothing: what occupies the Lieutenant's mind is the pains he is suffering from weariness in standing and jostling with the crowd.

¹ Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, Chap. XI. "Banbury, that most Puritan of Puritan towns."

That he had an eye for things of beauty, especially in buildings, appears not only from the manner in which he catalogues carvings in some of the churches he visits and the appreciative words he uses of the great painted windows that had not yet fallen to Puritan hammers, but in his interest in noblemen's houses. Herein perhaps lies the most striking contrast in the substance of the two journeys. In that of 1634 there are only two great country houses described, Kenilworth and the royal manor at Woodstock, but in that of 1635 we have detailed descriptions of no less than seven large residences. Arundel Castle, Petworth, Titchfield Place, Wilton, Corfe Castle have all been either destroyed or profoundly modified since then; while even as the Lieutenant viewed it, Fotheringay Castle, though still roofed, was being deliberately allowed to fall into ruin under the grandson of Mary Queen of Scots. Finally he gives an account of Lulworth Castle, the only house, until a few years back, which in our day retained the interior somewhat as it was seen by the Lieutenant.

None the less, we may be reasonably certain that the Lieutenant's main interest lay in the churches. Of their architecture he says little beyond giving rough estimates of dimensions; it is the monuments, the carvings and sculptures, the painted windows and the music, in which he fancied himself a connoisseur, that attract his attention. And it is here that we are faced with the chief defect of the Lieutenant's presentation, a defect common to both travels. He can do little in the way of actual description; of frontages and elevations and such like we hear nothing, for he is always mastered by a tendency to catalogue. How much more interesting would have been his description of the lost panels of the choir stalls at Winchester if, when finding a similar series of subjects carved in the chapter house at Salisbury, he could have indicated differences between their treatment at Winchester and Salisbury; but in fairness to our author, we must remember that his visits were too short to impress details surely in his mind. Yet even so he gives us enough to whet our curiosity and bring home to us the magnitude of the loss inflicted on the country by the fanaticism of the next few years. Even when, as at Winchester and Peterborough, he is merely cataloguing what he saw, we may take it that he does it because he appreciates the beauty of the work, but that his literary powers are not adequate for real description. As to his literary style in general, we see that it has in no way been chastened since the previous year; it is as exuberant

as ever in its conceits, affectation and extravagance. Even Shakespeare could scarcely have mixed his metaphors with greater audacity than does the Lieutenant in his need of "a boat of art and oars of nature to help him to pencil to the life" the beauties of Somerleyton Hall. But on the whole his epithets are unimaginative—blades are merry, clergy learned, mayors grave—but the student of letters and the philologist will note with interest his style, closely akin to that of the sermons of the day, and his employment of a considerable number of technical terms, both legal and military. Yet occasionally he produces almost poetic effects, as when by alternating monosyllabic and polysyllabic epithets for the "admired, strange, confused, huge, fixt, astonishing stones" he suggests the visitor's breathless wonder at Stonehenge.

Next to the churches and houses, undoubtedly the Lieutenant's ruling passion was his interest in what we call matters of defence. His military hobby, if indeed it be nothing better, was sufficiently strong to supply his metaphors as abundantly as before. And in this tour we get also a glimpse of the Royal Navy, both in the Downs and at Portsmouth. But it must be admitted that his experiences of the sea were unfortunate. Though he was well entertained on board H.M.S. *William and Thomas* in the Downs, he was unable to appreciate the liquor with which he was provided because his "stomach was so queasy." The ferrymen at Harwich and Tilbury were extortionate, especially the former, against whom he appealed to the governor of the town; and at Portsmouth, whence he made an attempt to cross to the Isle of Wight, they were incompetent or disobliging, or both. Yet it may be doubted whether his resentment against these mariners was as deep as that which he nurtured against the puritans of Crowland, "half fish, half flesh, for they drink like fishes and sleep like hogs." But it is to the military that his heart goes out. That he knew something of military matters is shown in many places: he can measure areas by the number of men they would hold; and the careful cataloguing of men and arms in castles, houses and towns bespeaks at least a self-imposed mission to view the military state of the country, while his easy access to the governor of Harwich, and his pass to that of Portsmouth suggest a more official countenance to this purpose of the journey.

Another contrast between the tour of 1635 and that of 1634 is, as we shall see later, the vagueness of the Lieutenant as to his stopping-places, which results in but few inns being mentioned. At Banbury "an altar had been converted to a sign," whatever

that may mean ; but elsewhere we only get mention of nine inns, some of which are still in existence: the King's Head at Chatham ; the Flower de Luce at Canterbury, a sign appropriate enough for the reception of French travellers ; the Bull at Dover ; the Mermaid at Rye ; the " holy quiet Lamb " at Eastbourne ; the George at Petworth ; the White Horse at Chichester ; the Red Lion at Portsmouth ; the Talbot at Oundle ; these do not make a particularly interesting list. Nor do we hear much about the inns : that at Oundle is specially noted as good , the inn-keeper at Manningtree is unduly inquisitive , at Tilbury, he is frankly a bore ; at Portsmouth the hostess was " brisk, blithe and merry, a handsome sprightly lass, fit for the company of brave commanders, whereof there are good store both within that garrison town and the castles there near adjoining," but the interesting feature of the visit here is the entering of the names of visitors in a book if they spent the night in the garrison town. At Newport in the Isle of Wight he was evidently put out by his fellow-guests, disapproval of whom, in spite of their military character, he is not at pains to hide ; at Bath, he is full of praise for the kindness and the manners of the Spanish ambassador's suite ; but this might all have been written in any century. Of travelling companions we hear little. There are " some good guides " in south Essex ; and the next day he joined the party of French people travelling to Dover to join the ship that was to take Lord Scudamore the ambassador over to France. Communication with them was difficult owing to linguistic differences, but it was worth keeping in touch with them, for the party was too large to be robbed after dark. At Badbury Rings in Dorset he meets a couple of gentlemen bound for Purbeck, who point out to him the features of Poole Harbour and Creech Barrow, and whom he accompanies as far as Wareham. But on the whole he seems to have been a solitary traveller, and, had it not been for the remark that on the way to Canterbury their purses were safe because the company was so strong, it might be thought that, considering how often he was overtaken by night, travelling in England was not a dangerous matter under the personal rule of King Charles I.

However this may be, it is noteworthy how devoid the *Relation* is of any reference to current politics. Yet this is the time when the *Calendar of State Papers* shows that town after town in shires through which the Lieutenant passed was protesting against the assessment made against it for ship-money. On the contrary, the

panegyric of England with which the *Relation* closes, goes out of its way to praise not merely the natural advantages of the country and the beauty of its buildings, but the "rare unparalleled government by so many discreet, judicious, generous and heroic, worthy sages both in Church and Commonwealth" and the "unexpressible happiness" that it enjoyed "to live under so good, so just, so wise, so prudent, so virtuous and so piously religious a Prince, who so prudently secures and graciously provides for the peace, quietness, safety and tranquillity of all his people." Not only so, but "we live in a glorious peaceable kingdom, and blessed nation, honoured and admired, a nation renowned and famous in all kingdoms and states for valour and magnanimity." After this, is it possible to doubt on which side this East Anglian Lieutenant would be in 1642? We may well believe that the course of events may have broken his heart.

We must now turn to the chronology of the tour, and note first the contrast between this tour and the former in that respect. Whereas in the former the chronology is plain until the neighbourhood of the eastern counties is reached, it is not too much to say that difficulties arise from the very title page of the second tour, where we are told that it began on Thursday, 4 August 1635. But in that year 4 August fell on a Tuesday, and that this is the correct dating is shown by the fact that later on it is mentioned that St. Bartholomew's day (24 August) came that year on a Monday. But should we then read Tuesday, 4 August or Thursday, 6 August? This question may easily be answered. If the Lieutenant started on a Thursday, he has only three nights in which to get to Canterbury, and as we shall see lower down, it is virtually certain that he spent five nights on that stage. We may therefore assume that he left Norwich on Tuesday, 4 August and not on Thursday, 6 August.

Next arises the question of the method of calculating the weeks. Are they counted as calendar weeks, from Sunday to Saturday, or from Tuesday, the day of departure from Norwich, to Monday? It is to be observed that in the previous year practically every Sunday was spent in a Cathedral city, namely, at York, Carlisle, Chester, Bristol and Oxford, the only possible exception being Coventry, between Chester and Bristol, and even here the ecclesiastically-minded Lieutenant could have pleaded in justification that the diocese was long known as that of Coventry and Lichfield; and that this was the practice of the Lieutenant in 1635 seems

clear from his statement that he spent " his third Sunday's rest " at Winchester ; so it follows that the Lieutenant must have spent every Sunday in a Cathedral town : Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, Exeter, and (presumably) Peterborough. These considerations have induced me in what follows to assume that the Lieutenant is always calculating his travels in calendar-weeks of Sunday to Saturday, and on these lines an attempt to work out the Lieutenant's itinerary is now submitted.

Starting from Norwich on Tuesday, 4 August, the Lieutenant made for Yarmouth, a distance of nineteen miles. Presumably he slept there, though he does not definitely say so, but we do not hear of any other place at which he spent the night until Manningtree in Essex. By the route he adopted, namely along the sea coast, the distance from Yarmouth to Manningtree is some sixty-six miles, a long ride indeed but by no means impossible. Yet we have to remember that if this is one day's journey we have to find time for the party at Bawdsey and the delay in crossing the harbour from Landguard to Harwich, so that it may well be that he took two days between Yarmouth and Manningtree. But of this there is no evidence whatsoever, and if, instead of sleeping at Yarmouth he slept somewhere south of it, we can easily make a two days' journey from Norwich and find time for diversion at Bawdsey and interruption at Harwich. Still, if we can allow three days to Manningtree, the chronology becomes easier, for he would have arrived there on Thursday, 6 August ; the next day he goes *via* Colchester and Maldon to Tilbury, clearly a long day, for he arrives after dark, and finally on Saturday, 8 August, he crosses, not indeed without delay, from Tilbury to Gravesend, and after viewing Rochester, arrives, again after dark, at Canterbury along with the French people, having covered, from Gravesend to Canterbury, a distance of not more than thirty-three miles, obviously riding at a trot or a canter for some part of the way.

In the second week, the determination of the stages is not much more easy. It is clear that our traveller does not break the sabbatical rule ; indeed his occupations at Canterbury preclude any such supposition, for he went to church on Sunday morning at the Cathedral, he also viewed the building, visited St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Martin's, and joined in a merry party of young Captain Wild. It is to be presumed that all this was done on Sunday, and on this assumption, Monday, 10 August, will see him at Sandwich, having gone round by Margate and marvelled at the

pier ; on Tuesday, with great discomfort to himself, he visited his friends in the fleet lying in the Downs, landed at Sandown Castle and went on to Dover that evening. The next four days are difficult. We must remember that he ends his second week's travel at Chichester, and the only place he clearly records as having slept the night at is Eastbourne, which is some sixty-one miles from Dover. Yet he visited Dover Castle with some thoroughness, and spent some time there over a pot of ale with the "guard," which must have occupied the morning of Wednesday, 12 August. He says he "rested" at the Mermaid at Rye, which presumably means that he slept there, for he says it was "late" by the time he reached the county boundary. If so, then on Thursday, 13 August, he arrived at the "holy quiet Lamb" at Eastbourne, having to hasten on from Winchelsea owing to the approach of night, and hurrying through Hastings and past Pevensey. Therefore, we have two days available for the stage from Eastbourne to Chichester, and if the statement that he had "fayre quarter" at Arundel mean that he slept there, the problem of the second week is solved.

The third week, however, is very much freer from difficulty. It ends at Winchester, and in it Sunday night is spent at Chichester ; after that one night is spent at Petworth, for we are told he was there for a night and a day ; another is spent at Chichester on the return from Petworth ; a fourth is spent at Havant with his friend, Mr. Ringstead, the parson ; a fifth at Titchfield ; and on the sixth he arrives at Winchester. He passed through Portsmouth and saw the ships sailing out of the harbour, and though he met "a merry blade" his countryman, it is clear he did not spend the night there because of the hurry the boatmen were in to get him to embark for the Isle of Wight, and also because of the curiously modern detail he gives when he was not required to "sign the register" at the inn, because he was not spending the night there.

The fourth week begins at Winchester and ends at Salisbury, twenty-five miles away. But the journey was subject to delays, and the route was devious. In viewing antiquities such as the Cathedral, St. Mary's Abbey, the College, the Castle, and St. Cross, our traveller's time must have been fully occupied if he only spent Sunday there. But Monday and Tuesday were filled, as he himself says, with the proceedings of the Court of Eyre of the Forest ; yet it reads as though the Lieutenant left Winchester on the afternoon of Tuesday, to journey to Southampton, twelve miles away,

for the night. The next day, according to this calculation, Wednesday, 26 August, he went to Lepe on the Solent, crossed to the Isle of Wight, and reached Newport. The next morning he went to Carisbrooke which he describes, but this visit would not take long; nor is there evidence that he did anything more save go back to Cowes, whence he returned by sea to Southampton. He does not say that he stopped there for he "hastened" on to Romsey, and so on to Salisbury, where he says he "closed up his fourth weeks travel." But even if we allow for an extra night at Southampton this only brings him to Friday, 28 August, so that we are short of a day in this week, unless we add a day for viewing the sights of Winchester after the close of the Eyre Court. But the text of the journal gives no warrant for such a supposition.

In the fifth week, the chronology is simpler. On Monday he went to Stonehenge and Amesbury, the next day he must have gone to Wilton; on Wednesday he left Salisbury for the Isle of Purbeck, but where he slept it is hazardous to say, for there is no definite resting-place mentioned between Salisbury and Lyme Regis, and his route took him to Badbury Rings, Wimborne, Corfe Castle, Wareham, Lulworth, Weymouth, Dorchester and Bridport, far more than a single day's journey. The visits to Corfe and Lulworth were clearly not occupied with mere perfunctory glances, so that it is clear that he rested somewhere on the road. It sounds rather as if he stopped at Lulworth Castle, though his language is by no means clear, and the statement that he had forty miles to go from Dorchester rather suggests a man with a day's work before him. If so, he would sleep at Lulworth on Wednesday, at Dorchester on Thursday, Lyme on Friday, and reach Exeter on Saturday, 5 September.

This closes the fifth week of the journey. In the sixth the mist becomes thicker as we approach Norwich. It is clear that he spent a night at Taunton and at Bath, where he arrived late after a long visit to Glastonbury; but where he spent the next night there is no indication, and it must have been Wednesday at the earliest before he reached his "loving friend" in Oxfordshire, of whose identity he gives no more hint than in the account of the previous tour, and in whose company he visited the hermit's grotto at Enstone. As he parted from his friend after breakfast, it may be that he spent two nights with him. If so, he must have spent Friday night at Oundle, reaching Peterborough on Saturday, 12 September.

If these calculations are correct, then in the seventh week he visited Crowland, but the imprecations upon it suggest little less than a night's visit, and may have been aggravated by the fact that he could not find good quarters there; Ely, presumably another night; back thence to Peterborough, and finally to Wisbech, whence he made his way back to Norwich in the latter half of the seventh week, somewhere about 17 September.

I wish to tender my best thanks to our Director for his help in regard to the Town Clerk at Maldon, for putting me in touch with Canon Goodman, the Librarian of Winchester Cathedral, who gave me the reference to the article by Mr. Warren on *The Lost Panels of the Stalls* in that Cathedral, for making enquiries at Norwich and Walthamstow for matters of detail, and for suggestions too numerous to acknowledge severally in the notes, but proffered with characteristic generosity; to Mr. F. Day, the Diocesan Registrar, and Mr. H. A. Sandford, for help in connexion with Rochester Cathedral, and to Professor Nichol Smith, whose excellent advice with regard to the Lieutenant's English and the group of writers to whom he is most related, has enabled me to avoid some pitfalls that beset the inexperienced.

L. G. W. L.

September, 1935.

/A
RELATION OF A SHORT SURUEY
OF THE WESTERNE COUNTIES
IN WHICH IS BREIFELY DESCRIBED THE CITTIES,
CORPORATIONS, CASTLES, AND SOME OTHER
REMARKABLES IN THEM OBSERU'D IN A SEUEN
WEEKES JOURNEY BEGUN AT NORWICH,
AND THENCE INTO THE WEST.

ON THURSDAY AUGUST 4TH, 1635,
AND ENDING ATT THE
SAME PLACE

By the same Lieutennant, that with the Captaine
and Ancient of the Military Company
in Norwich
Made a Journey into the North
the Yeere before.

/A BREIFE DESCRIPTION OF A fo. 348
JOURNEY MADE INTO THE
WESTERNE COUNTIES

To finish a worke begun that is no way dangerous to the vnder-taker, or preiudiciall to others, especially where faire meanes and iust opportunity present themselves, hath euer beene reputed an act of discretion and fortitude.

This moued the Lieutenant although alone by himselfe to bring vp the Reere of the worke intended, and to round in the residue of this famous Island, which hee (with the Societie of a Captaine and an Ensigne) the last Summer left out : To accomplish which he mounts on Thursday the 4. of August 1635, with his traueilling Accoutrements and openeth his Journey with the cheife Maritime Towne of his owne Country,¹ and shakes hands with her then and there.

Entring the next vpon a Louing peece of Land² passing ouer (which he could not passe by) the rich and pleasant Scytuation of a generous Knight, his owne Countrys high Sheriff³ that yeere, nor his rare and delightfull waters without some small stay, which pleasant sporting rarities, should I goe about to set forth, I had need of a Boat of Art and Oares of Nature to help me to pencill them to the Life, which being soe neere and well knowne, needs not my description.

Well, in an houre I had a full contentiue satiety of the sweet & pleasant richnesse of them ; and so hastned to Sould ouer Mutford Bridge, vnder which glides a little Riuer,⁴ declining Leystoffe (in respect of the poore Inhabitants and the then present visitation of

¹ Yermouth.

³ Sir John Wentworth.

² Loungland in Suffolke

⁴ Waueney.

Sickness) through Pakefeild, where I purposed a small Season to haue visited their honest Boone Parson,¹ but that his absence at that time frustrated my intents and purposes.

On theretofore (*sic*) I iog'd, and by the way was almost plung'd in a small Creeke, but that I had a good confidence it was Christned with a name that afforded Strangers better lucke, ² with this resolution I aduentur'd, and escaped this first small Inlet out of Neptunes bosome.

Passing onwards on my Journey, I left Sould to the Gouverment of her Bayliffs, and Cothie to her Cobler, and soe coasted along to Walderswicke riding a 6. Mile Race with a Ship loosing no ground of her, till with a sudden chop of the wind she left me; there I left her, and crossed a brace of Ferries, and so along the sands I galloped to that ancient, decay'd Corporation, Dunwich, sometimes (*sic*) a most flourishing City, and the Seat of this first Diocesse, which her first Bishop ³ made happie, with his fruitfull Tillage about 1000 yeeres sithence amongst the People in that Prouince in her infancy of the Christian Religion; which Place hath had (if re/port or History will carry Credit) As manny Religious Houses, and windmills in her, as would affoord euery weeke, each weeke one to grind both Spirituall and Temporall Food for 230. of her Burgesses, and as many gallant Top-Sayles, as there are weekes in the yeere, before swallowing Neptune's waues deuour'd her vp, that now so little is left of her, as leaue her I must without adding more.

On therefore I speeded (comming after Midsummer season that the Hauen was not stopt vp) ⁴ by Eastbridge, vnto another Towne, ⁵ that formerly also had beene of great note, but her churlish in-croching Neighbour, the swallowing Ocean, hath beene soe vnkind to her as she hath beene to her desolate last mention'd neighbour Towne, to eat her vp quite, and to carry her violently away with her all-deuouring and insatiate Waues; there being onely some few Clusters of Cottages still remayning that haue stoutly resisted her unsatisfy'd rage, and are now the mourning Memorialls of the Place, where she once flourished.

Leauing this desolate Towne, I pass'd on to Thorp, and from thence by the Waues Beech and Chingles to the Corporation of Aldbrough, where I found some peeces of Ordinance planted against the Maine and a gentile, free, generous Parson, ⁶ both to preserue and Keepe safe her Inhabitants; from him I receiu'd a curteous and hearty

¹ Mr. Boone.

⁴ Midsummer Hauen.

² Kissing land Hauen.

⁵ Sisesam.

³ Bishop Fœlix.

⁶ Mr Tophffe.

Trauellers welcome, and from thence, by their strange Pease Rocke Beach, I was forc'd to season my Nag's ioynts with the Salt water, and to crosse ouer a Riuer ¹ to Orford, which is very ancient, and surely hath beene a place of note and strength, as doth yet appeare by the ruines of the Castle and her Scytuation, yet strong enough to hold a Mayor.

From thence hasten I by Butley Abbey, at which sweet seat, the fat and lazie Abbots and the Monasticke Monkes in those their flourishing dayes did take pleasure and delight, to cram & stuffe their Paunches with those salacious Oysters (gotten there abouts) on their Fish-eating dayes.

On I goe for Harwich, and by the way at Basey Ferry was enforc'd to a second tryall of my Nags skill in swimming; after I got ouer, I discouered there were a ciuill, merry, gentile Company of both Sexes, who that morning were come vpon that Sreame ² (*sic*), from Woodbridge, to take their recreation on the Sea for their health, and afterwards for their pleasure to Laugh and bee merry at land, with that good Wine and other Prouision that they had brought along with them: Amongst which there were some of my well knowne, most speciall and Louing Freinds: So as I could not passe by them, without a trauelling^{*} Salute, which made them wonder as much to see me, as I did them there: That small time I stay'd with them, I had a free participation of their good cheere, which was Wine, Oysters, Musicke, Mirth, &c. for all which I payd my best of thanks, and left them.

Then did I hasten to take my Farewell of this County att Langor Point, ³ with their new Captaine of the Fort there, and small Garrison; which Fort, for her warlike Munition, strong Fortifications, watchfull Garrison, and prudentiall Preseruatiō, is most gallantly ordered and provided for at his Maiesties great Charge and Care. This Place is so well knowne in these/parts as there is no need of fo. 349 any further relation or description thereof from my vnskillfull Pen.

From thence I made haste, and by some of there helps I gott a speedy passage (though not for my Horse yet) for my Selfe into the next County ⁴ ouer that blustering turbulent Streame, neere a League in breadth: And after I had pass'd ouer these tossing waues then had I a new taske, to get a Boat to fetch my Horse: for these unconscionable Watermen were not onely dogged but euen

¹ Ore

² Deben

³ Langor Fort; Capt Cammock, Lieuten^t Louel

⁴ Essex, Harwich.

alsoe soe shamelesse as to demaund neere an Attorney's Two-Terme-Fee to serue my turne, in giuing Waftage to my Palfrey ; which vnreasonable fare had I granted them, would haue made me quickly to haue far'd but poorely, hauing so long a Journey to accomplish.

Therefore I though (*sic*) it fitter (being a Stranger) to goe to the Gouvernor of this Towne and acquaint him heerewith, rather then to leaue soe ill a president for such as should follow me ; who very curteously and suddenly prouided me one at a far easier rate ; but the currish disposition of these Water-dog'd Fellowes was such as, what my Purse payd not for, my Patience did, for the crossing whereof, they were crossing ouer and returning, as many houres as Miles.

During the time that my Horse¹ was fetching ouer, I had time enough to view this little Island Maritime Towne, mounted on a Hill, and neere 3. quarters of it enuiron'd with the Sea, that comes in betweene her, and Langor Point.

And heere this great Streame² diuides it selfe into 2. branches ; The one runs downe to Ipswich (the right Eye of this last County for a stately and commodious Hauen Towne as Bury challengeth to be her other Eye, for a healthfull and sweet dry Towne both well deseruing the Title of Cities for their great Commerce, fayre Buildings, pleasant Scytuations, gentile Inhabitants, and for their prudent Gouernment.) The other Streame³ runs to Caddaway Bridge, and soe to Sudbury, diuiding these Counties, betweene which 2. Streames Shotley and some other Townes are Islanded.

I found heere 10. Peeces of Ordinance vpon the wall's Fort, and as many more in another place by the Key side, and lying all along grouling, and groaning as if they were bed-rid and not able to hold up their heads, euer since the other ouer-thwart neighbouring Fort (from whence I came last) began to flourish : yet doth their worthy Recorder⁴ stand close their Freind, as hauing got these poore Inhabitants exempt from finding Armes and other Charges.

At last (though late) I had a safe deliuary of my Nag from those churlish and neuer to be satisfy'd Boatmen, and soe mounting him ouer Ramsey bridge, all along the last Hauen to Manetree, but then it grew so late and darke, and the wayes soe ill with Quick-sands, as I durst not aduenture without a Guide, And when I was arriu'd at the Towne I met with some puzzle there too ; for I found the Inhabitants, where strangers should safely take their repose,

¹ Word written on a piece of paper and pasted over

² Orwell.

³ Stoure

⁴ Harbottle Grimston, Recorder.

soe extreemly weary'd with with (*sic*) druuing their Trade, at their that day Markett, as they were/not able by 8. of the Clocke to hold fo. 349^b. vp their heads, for I was forc'd to try 2. or 3. Inns, before I found one that was in a Condition to admit therein a Trauellers repose : yet was mine Hoste, though soe far spent, out of his pleasant conceited noddle, very inquisitiue to know from whence I came, and whither I was bound, before he would admit me faire Quarter. Of all which I gaue him so small an account, and with answers so ambiguous, as made him as weary of his Intergatories (*sic*), as I was of my (that dayes) Journey.

The next Morning they told me I could not safely goe by Lee by reason of Hauens and Tides, and therefore away I posted the old trodden way, to the ancient Corporation of Colchester,¹ which was built by a Brittish Prince,² soone after the birth of Christ ;

This old Towne I found gouerned by 2 Baliffs and 12. Aldermen in Scarlet, guarded with 4. Maces, incompass'd with a strong wall ; in which are 4. Gates, and some watch Towers, and is 2. Mile about ; it is strengthned with an old Castle, inhabited by Prisoners ; releiued by a curious, high, and stately contriu'd water-house, neere a Quarter of a Mile from the wall, from whence run Pipes, that supplies the whole Towne, adorn'd with 15. Churches, grac'd with a fayre Library, giuen by a right reuerend Prelate,³ who dyed Archbishop of Yorke ; supply'd with a handsome small Channell⁴ and Hauen for small Barkes, within halfe a mile of the Towne ; beautify'd with a large, and fayre ancient Abbey, wherein liueth their Recorder, heere I bayted, and found the Towne not vnfurnished with handsome Creatures, such as deseru'd a longer stay to obserue than I could affoord, and so left them.

I then hastened away and tript ouer Triptuary Heath,⁵ by that quarrellsome faire, the Lords of the Goats and Blackwater, to the ancient and memorable Towne of Malden, where that famous and noble Brittish Prince⁶ had his Royall Pallace, and kept his peaceable Court, when Our blessed Sauour the King of kings, was borne into the world : And as I rode along, I pass'd by some Seats of Knights, Ladies and other Persons of ranke and qualitie.⁷

In this hauen Towne, I met with an honest louing Gentleman of my owne name,⁸ and neere my calling, who was the then Steward

¹ Colchester Towne

² King Coil.

³ Archbishop Harsnett.

⁴ Colne

⁵ M^r Bennets

⁶ Kimbeline

⁷ Sir Henry Calthrop ; The Lady Sands ; S^r. Benjamin Aliffe.

⁸ M^r. Hammond

6 DESCRIPTION OF A JOURNEY

and Towne Clerke, from whom I receiu'd a quick, running, and heartie entertainment, for I was heere also hastned, as I was from my last; yet after we had parted a Cup or two of their briske Canary, I must not part vntill I had seene the Monuments in one of their Churches,¹ (itt was soe neere to the Tauerne).

First an ancient Monument of the Lord Dacres.

A Monument for one Mr. Cammocke, who marry'd the Lord Rich's Sister; he being pursu'd, and well mounted swam ouer the hauen and the Lady behind him (iudge whether his courage, or her loue exceeded).

A Monument for Mr. Wentworth, a Counsellor and Recorder there.

Also many fayre Grauestones there, with pretty Inscriptions in French and Latine, which for want of time I could not take, nor could I tarry to taste of the braue Wayfleet Oysters, that are there in great plenty, but was forc'd (somewhat I confesse against my will) to take my Leau of my gentile curteous Name-sake, for whose sake (cheifelie) I stay'd heere so long; And so hastned by Woodham Water,² leauing the pleasant Seats of Danbury,³ and Graces,⁴ belonging to two worthy brothers, on either hand of me; and as I rid along, had in my sight that most stately, magnificent, and goodly Building, New Hall,⁵ and then by Much-Haddon,⁶ through Billerkey, and soe to the Seat of the Lord Peters,⁷ and diuerse other Places of Note, which the Vale of Night suffer'd me not to take a full view off.

After this, with the assistance of some good Guides whom I happened on by chance, wee troop'd ouer 2. high Hills, vpon on (*sic*) of which London, which is 20. mile from thence, may plainly be discern'd in a cleare day, and a great part also of her owne Country, and the next adiacent it commaunds. And at last, though very late, with the direction and guidance of my sayd Guides, I obtayn'd a safe harbour at Tilbury.

This place, although it receiu'd many thousand for many nights together at that time the Camp Royall was there, yet had I much adoe to find out a conuenient Quarter, to Billet there one: Mine Host, a little old Man, big enough for his house, did somewhat refresh me after my long and wearisome dayes Trauell, with a long and tedious relation of that great Camp, how the men were

¹ All Hallowes.

² The L^d of Sussex's

³ Sr. Humphry, and

⁴ Sr. Henry Mildmay's.

⁵ Duke of Buckingham's

⁶ Capt. Ashenhursts.

⁷ Lord Peters.

billeted, drill'd, ordered, and quartered; There stood, quoth hee, her Maesties Tent; there she view'd her Troops of Horse, with their warlike Riders; heere her Regiment of Foot; there rid the Nauy Royall; in this place she encourag'd her braue Commaunders, in another place her priuate Soldiers; and all my host so pathetically and punctually relate as if it had beene but the other day.

The next morning, I was to be transported into the vnconquer'd mayden, flourishing County of our Kingdome, ouer the goodliest, and sweetest streame that glides through her;¹ heere I found it as hard to get my Horse ouer into the next County, as It was at Harwich to get him ouer into this, for at either Forts, the resting side for the horse-boats was contrary to me; and whilst I sent ouer for one, I lost noe time, for one of the Drummers of the Blockhouse² admitted mee into the Fort and shewed me 26. fayre Peeces of Ordmance, how they were planted both aboue and below; the magazine of Munition, the Captaines Chamber,³ wherein were the Colours lodg'd, that were sett vp on the walls of Cales in Spaine. This Fort was built by King Henry the 7th and was of late before my being there well repayr'd.

At last my Boat I had sent for came, and please them that brought it I must, if I would please my Selfe in my Journey, with giving them as much as they ask'd; then was I receiu'd into their wooden habitation, and speedily and safely ferry'd ouer into the next County⁴ and landed at that worshipfull Corporation,⁵ which his Majesties (*sic*) hath so lately honour'd with a Mayor, and highly grac'd with a right noble High Steward.⁶

And for so much as I obseru'd in her, she hath very great need of both to gouerne, rule, and order the multiplicity of Tauerns, Inns and Alehouses wherewith the Towne swarms, (for the Circuit thereof there is not the like againe to be found in all England) wherein there is dayly sun/dry Quarrells, wranglings, cheatings and fo. 350b. cousenings, and all these committed by our owne Countrymen, as extrauagant Aliens.

The Blockhouse⁷ that belongs to this Corporation, is right ouer against the other I last came from on Essex side; and it is of the same forme and moddell; of the same age; strengthned, and furnish'd with the like proportion of Ordinance, and Munition; commaunded and constantly watched and warded, as that is: The

¹ Thames River.

² Tilbury Blockhouse

³ Captain Talbot

⁴ Kent.

⁵ Grauesend.

⁶ Duke of Lennox

⁷ Grauesend Blockhouse.

Captaine thereof hath a neat House, Gardens, Orchards and walkes not far from the Castle, close vpon the brinke of that sweet, and goodly Riuier.

From hence I am to passe to Rochester, and in the mid way, I fear'd no robbing, although I pass'd that woody and high, old robbing Hill,¹ on which I alighted, and tooke a sweet and delightfull prospect of that faire Streame, with her pleasant Meads she glides through, and fertile Downes of either County, a long and broad way.

My way was very pleasant and faire to Rochester, which I found scituanted in a sweet and pleasant Valley, hauing gliding by it a delightfull braue Riuier, that runs through the heart of this County from the Towne of Bridges,² and passing by her on 2. Parts; ouer which to enter her, I mounted ouer a faire, stately, long, and strong, Frestone Bridge of 11. goodly Arches, with strong Battlements, & Iron Railes, all along on both Sides, the which for its length, and without Buildings on it, is not much inferior to that vnparallell'd Londons. This was built at the very great Cost and Charge of a noble Knight,³ and Coped with Iron by a right reuerend Archbishop⁴ The water noyseth, ebbeth, and floweth euery Tide, (according to the breadth of the Streame) as that other doth.

Close vpon the banke of that sweet streame, and not farre from the Bridge, stands an old and ruinated Castle,⁵ of which there is yet soe much remayning as a man may aduenture an ascent of 140. staires vp to the top thereof, without any great danger. The Moddell of this Building sheweth strength and antiquity; The yard is about 2. Acres wall'd about, and hath on it 10. Towers, whereof there are 6. still standing, the other 4. being quite ruinated and those that yet stand are much decay'd; it is also intrench'd in with a Ditch, into which they wold let in the flowing of the Tide at pleasure and drowne it, which was an additionall strength thereunto.

As I found this City little and sweet, so I found her cheife and best Structures, correspondent to her smallnesse, which was neat and handsome and neither great nor sumptuous.

And first I'le begin with her cheife seat, the Cathedrall,⁶ which was

¹ Gadds Hill ² Medway; Tunbridge ³ S^r. Robert Knowles.

⁴ Archbishop Deane

⁵ Rochester Castle

⁶ The Cathedrall, S^t. Andrew, Bishop Bowles; D^r. Balcanquall, Deane; D^r. Cheeke, Subdeane; D^r. Jackson, Prebend; and 4. more; 16 Singing Men; 6. Petty Canons; 8 Boyes.

consecrated in Henry the 1. time ; and though the same bee butt small and plaine, yet it is very lightsome and pleasant : her Quire is neatly adorn'd with many small Pillers of Marble ; her Organs though small, yet are they rich and neat ; her Quiristers though but few, yet orderly and decent ; her Pallace and Deanery, though both little, yet are they both hansome and luely.

Her Monuments are but few, yet are they very ancient.

First 2. Bishops in blew Marble in their Pontificall Postures lye flanking either side of the High Alter ; so ancient as without Name or Inscription, yet one of them is suppos'd to be Bishop fo 351. Gundulphus, who built a great part of the Castle and that Tower, yet standing there : Hee was appointed by William the Conqueror principall Surueyor of that great worke, the building of that strong and famous Tower of London ; He also new built this Church more faire then itt was before, and encreased her Reuenues much.

The Monument of Bp. Merton Lord Chancellor to Henry the 3^d., and Founder of Merton Colledge in Oxford.

Two old Monuments, the one in Freestone, and the other in blew Marble.

The Monument of one M^r. Stritton, who had been 9. times Commaunder of the Siluer Ore there.

S^r. Alexander Temple's Monument with his Lady ; and some few other of Churchmen and Citizens, of later yeeres, which I will heere omit, and diuerse others also of Antiquity, so dismembred, defac'd and abused as I was forc'd to leave them to some better discouery then I was able to render of them ; As also the venerable Shrine of St. William.

In the Pallace I view'd that which is not vsuall in such a place, the Armory, which was taken away from a Lord¹ nor farre remote from that City, in a little Island thereby, by the Lord Bishop of this Diocesse, vpon a speciall commaund from our late Soueraigne for some speciall reasons, and there kept. And when Prayers were done I march'd from the Cathedrall into the City againe, which I found gouern'd by a Mayor with his Mace, and 12. Aldermen.

Betweene this Citty and Chattam, in that sweet Sreame (*sic*) where his Maiesties Nauy securely rides, I view'd 10. stately, goodly faire Ships, newly equipped and trim'd, well victuall'd and mann'd, ready to be sent to the rest of the Fleet, but iust at that instant of me beeing there, there came a Commaund from his Maiestie for

¹ The Lord Forster.

their stay and discharge, which made those press'd Soldiers and Saylor's swarme thereabouts like Bees and as busy as Gnats, and (as it was much fear'd) would haue beene much more busy, if strict and speciall care had not beene speedily taken ouer them, which might very well hasten Trauellors away the sooner, not to run the hazzard of being benighted.

Therefore away from the Kings Head, in the cheife street there, I posted to the next Poste Towne,¹ leauing a little small Island,² running with a sharp nooke, betweene those 2. Streames, Thames and that which branches from her to Rochester; Also that 20. Mile encompass'd Island,³ with her ancient, little, poore, Mother-Queen-Mayor Towne of this Kingdome: ⁴ the ruinated standings of that demolish'd Castle built by King Edward the 3^d. doe still represent what she hath been, whose drooping and Iuy heads, hauing been gouern'd by no lesse then 20. noble Constables, serue now for no other vse but for Sea-marks for Nauigators.

I durst not aduenture so much out of my way as to visit itt, I was soe streightned with time; therefore on I hasten to another Towne,⁵ which was not much out of my way, where King Stephen and Mawd his Queen were interr'd; It is a reasonable, fayre and well-built Towne, with a small Creek adioyning it for transportation; and heere I had the happinesse to light vpon some Trauellors, bound/my Road, whose good Company did somewhat reuiue and cheere both my Selfe and Horse: yet had not I from them nor they from me much benefit of discourse, for they were all French, and had stay'd so little while in this Kingdome that they had reap'd small profit thereby, either to speake or vnderstand our Language.

These French Travellers hastned the sooner their Journey to take the then offer'd opportunity of passing ouer into France in one of his Maiesties Ships of the Nauy Royall, that then was ready att Douer, safely to conuey our English Ambassador, that was going to the French Court; on I merrily march'd with this French Troop, though with much adoe, after a long dayes and sore weekes trauell, I had to hold way with them, they were such ranke Riders, more especially a light and sprightly Madamoiselle, who, beeing well mounted, would be sure to be alwayes on the Front and a File leader, and to leaue a whole Cloud of choking dust behind her.

As the night approach'd I was in good hope that she would haue

¹ Sittingburne.

² Grun Island.

³ Shepey Island

⁴ Quinborough; Queen Philipsburgh.

⁵ Feuersham.

rid more temperately, but I found that night and day, was to them as well as she (*sic*) alike : she fear'd not to ride in the darke, whether it were vp hill or downe hill, it was all one, although itt grew darke long before we obtayn'd our harbour : yet this was our comfort ; there was no danger at all in loosing our way, for there was no other to passe along by but a Cawsey, which was hedg'd in on the left and right with great and goodly woods ; nor did we thinke our Purses were in any great perill of being taken from vs, our Company was so strong.

And thus very late, I heere ended my first weekes Trauell & quarter'd with the French Trauellers at the Flower de Luce which was the Postmasters, at the famous, ancient and Metropolitan City of Canterbury ; the which was built by a British Prince ¹ neere 1000 yeeres before the birth of Christ.

With these French Mounseers I ioyn'd this night, to make our Commons the better, and had free mirth and good content from them, they were all weary as well as I, especially that pretty She Rider who at that time held it no nicety, nor point of inciuility, to disrobe and bed her little, tender, weary'd Corps in our presence, which I vnderstood afterwards is common and familiar amongst them of that Nation : at last, after I had payd my share for our Supper, I then thought it time to hasten away, and leaue them, both in respect of place, time, and Persons, and to let them inioy their owne Quarters with Fredome, according to their owne Country custome.

The next morning we in a freindly manner parted, they, whither they were bound, for the Port of Douer, and I, as I was bound for the House of God, the Cathedrall ; ² which, as itt is the State and Glory of this Old City, so is it the Primate, and Metropolitan Seat of our whole Kingdome ; which goodly Structure as it is fayre and stately, so is it long and lofty, being 200. paces long and 300. Stayres high : The Quire is answerable thereunto, it being 60. Paces vp to the High Altar ; heere I saw and heard a/fayre Organ sweet ^{fo. 352.} and tunable, and a deep and rauishing consort of Quirsters, and a snowy Croud of the Kings Schollers, which were fifty in number.³

¹ Rudhudibras

² The Cathedrall, Christ's Church.

³ Archbishop Laud ; D^r. Bargraue, Deane, S^r. Nathaniell Brent, Chancellor ; D^r. Paske, Subdeane ; D^r. Kingsley, Archdeacon ; D^r. Warner, Deane of Litchfeild, D^r. Jackson, D^r. Jeffreys, D^r. Westley, D^r. Fruell, Deane of Gloucester, D^r. du Molin, French, D^r. Peale, M^r. Blessingden, M^r. Cassiburn, French, M^r. Vassus, Prebends ; 6. Preachers, 6. Petty Cannons, 18 Singing Men, 40 Singing Boys, 50 Kings Schollers.

This sumptuous Building is grac'd with an vnusuall forme of 2. fayre and double Crosse Isles, most admirably contriued by degrees, with a quadrate, gracefull ascent of 40 Steps from her walking Ile to Thomas Becket's Tombe, or Crowne: The first rising at the first crosse Ile, the second into the Quire, the third at the second crosse Ile, into Thomas Becket's Chappell, the fourth into his Crowne, with neat Iron grate doores, beautify'd with many fayre and rich Windowes.

The Iron workes which preserve the windowes outwardly are worthy of Obseruation, being wrought in pretty contriue'd formes, and are of seuerall, and rare workmanship, and not one window like another, but of more especiall note and esteeme is that which is ouer against the Chappell called the Martyrdome of Thomas of Becket, whereon, on the lowest part of it is richly and admirably painted King Edward the 4th., his Queen, 2. sons (murdred in the Tower), and 5. Daughters, a little vpwards is the History of our blessed Sauour, so pathetically done, as it is accompted, one of the richest and rarest window peeces in Christedome.

And without all question, all that euer saw it, especiall Trauellers, did looke on it as a wonder, the which not long since being obseru'd by that great Polititian and Ambassador,¹ he did, in the behalfe of the King his Master, offer a large and extraordinary Summe for itt, viz^t. as much Gold as would weigh downe the Glasse and Lead, or soe many peices of Gold as would couer the whole Window; such an vnparallell'd reflection of this rare Artifice, wrought vpon the iudgment and liking heereof in this Great Don.

After I had view'd and giuen my Selfe full content with the statelinesse of this sacred Structure, I desir'd to see how she was beautified with Tombes and Monuments, which for Number, Antiquity and artificiall rich workmanship, may iustly challenge precedency aboue any of her Daughter Cathedralls, in this Mother Island.

To crowne the worke i'll begin in the Crowne of that great adored Saint, Thomas of Becket, ArchBishop of this See in Henry 2^d. time; who was murder'd by 4. Knights in this Cathedrall, for which fact they vnderwent a hard Penance: He was cannoniz'd a Saint by the Pope, and enshrind a Martyr. Whitherto People of all degrees and from all parts, flock'd to adore and offer their oblations at this Shrine: which was so glorious and rich, as it was without Parallell: and a long

¹ Conde de Gundamore.

story it would take vp to relate the many religious Structures, Chappells, &c. that were erected in forreigne parts, and endow'd to the memory of this English Martyr. This Crowne Chappell where his sayd rich Shrine stood, hath in it 5. fayre, neat, and rich high Windowes, and to adorne it, 8. black marble Pillers run vp: Heere was placed the High Altar of this great Saint, And heerein is now plac'd the plaine Monument of that Royally descended Prelate Cardinall Poole, Archbishop/in Henry 8. time; from hence I came by a small fo. 352^b descent into his fayre Chappell, where he was soe richly in-shrin'd, built somewhat round, with 6. rich, and fayre high windowes on either side, and many fine Marble Pillers, wherein I found many ancient, Royall, memorable and rich Monuments. One of pure Alabaster, whereon lyeth King Henry 4th. and his second Queene, which was Joan, Daughter of Charles the 5th. King of Nauarre, cut and wrought very artificially, and garnish'd with an Atemperance about it, and rich Armes; his last Will bequeath'd his body to be heere interr'd, A^o. 1408.

Ouer against that, on another fayre Monument lyeth another famous Prince, whose Atchieuements were euer obtayn'd with great honor, Edward the black Prince, his Statue in Brasse double gilt, compleat in his warlike Armor, with his vanquishing Sword, Gantlet and Helmet, hanging ouer him, wherewith he took the French King and presented him to his father, King Edward 3^d., and kept him Prisoner heere: At his head is a Helmet and a Lion, and another at his feet: with many French verses, setting forth the heroicke Valour and true honor of this Royall Prince, who dyed and was heere interr'd, A^o. 1376.

The Monument of Dr. Wotton, the first Deane of the two Metropolitan Sees, this and Yorke, both at one time, and a Priuy Counsellor. A^o. 1546.

The Monument of Archbishop Courtney in wite Alabaster. Cardinall Chattillon, a French Man, in Lead.

Next, by a small descent I came into the place, betweene that Chappell and the High Altar, wherein stands a Chaire couered with Sky-colour'd Veluet, in which all the Archbishops are install'd and inthroniz'd.

From thence, I pass'd through the richly gilt Partition to the High Altar, ouer against which on the South side, Lieth Odo Seuerus, in plaine Freestone, but as plaine as he seemes, he

excommunicated King Edwins Concubines, and duorc'd him from his Quene.

On the other side of the High Altar, is the Monument of Archbishop Bourcheir in Gray Marble, brother to Henry Bouchier Earl of Kent, and of Ewe in Normandy, he liued a Bishop after his first Consecration 50. yeeres; in his charge heere he sat 32.: he crowned that wise Prince Henry the 7th.

Next Archbishop Seuerus, is Archbishop Stratford Ld. Chancellor and Lord Protector of the Realme, when King Edward the 3^d. was in France, A^o. 1348.

And next him, by the doore, lyes Archbishop Kemp twice Ld. Chancellor of England.

Ouer against that, by the other doore is Archbishop Chichley, in rich Alablaster curiously wrought and constantly repayr'd: he was much employ'd in Ambassages by King Henry 4th. and was soe valiant as to march with Henry 5th. to the Battell of Agincourt; he Crown'd his vnfortunate Successor Henry 6th.

In Anselmes Chappell, on the South of the Quire, is the Tombe of Archbishop Sudbury, of Touchstone; he was barbarouslie beheaded by the Rebels in this County, in King Richards 2. time: he wall'd in this City, and Crowned that vnfortunate Prince A^o 1377.

fo. 353.

Vnder that Chappell, Archbishop Anselme the Founder there/of is interr'd; he was borne in Burgundy and was the first that prohibited Preists marryng: for his integrity and Learning he was admir'd; he was in so great fauor with Pope Vrban, as he and his Successors had the honor in all Generall Councells to sitt att his Holinesse right Foot. This Bishop dyed A^o. 1109. and was long after Cannoniz'd a Saint.

Next is Archbishop Hubertus in Alablaster, borne in Norfolk; he Crowned King John; attended King Richard 1. to the holy Land as a Collonell, and perform'd many braue Seruices, for which that King heaped many honors vpon him; for at one time he was ArchBishop, the Popes Legate, Lord Chancellor, Lord Cheife Justice, and Vicegerent of all his Dominions, he Moated and walled the Tower, and did many other braue Acts, hee dyed A^o. 1205.

Then Archbishop Reynolds in Alablaster; hee was Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer to King Edward 2^d. 1327: he Crowned that triumphant King Edward 3^d. These 2. last lye togeather on the South Side ouer against the Quire.

Next I descended downe into a Chappell, called St. Michaelles, which is on the South end of the first Crosse Angle, wherein Lies Sr. Tho: Thornhurst in Armor and his Lady by him in Alabaster, and 2. Daughters: hee was slaine at the Isle of Ree. There also lyes interr'd in the same Chappell, Sr. Stephen Thornhurst and his Lady, the Father and Mother of Sr. Thomas. Then saw I the Monument of Archbishop Lanfranke, a Learned, and profound Scholler, borne at Pauia in Italy, call'd from Pauia in Italy to this See by William the Conqueror, who made a conquest also of the Clergie by obtayning the Primacy from the Archbishop of Yorke; he Crowned his Successor William Rufus.

Also Archbishop Langton, his Corps in Lead; he was Chancellor of Paris, and a Cardinall elect against King Johns will, A^o. 1228.: he was a man of excellent parts and guifts both of Body and mind; hee diuided the Bible into Chapters, and Crowned King Henry 3^d.

Vpon the side of the wall in that Chappell is the beat Monument of Sr. Tho: Hales, who was Treasurer in the Voyage to Portugall, he dyed on Shipboord, the Ship curiously wrought and fram'd with 2. men haling him ouer boord, in his Armor; his Lady and his son lying vnderneath him.

In the middst of this Chappell, vpon a faire and rich Monument, lyeth Margret Dutchesse of Clarence, Daughter of Edmond Holland Earl of Kent, in pure Alabaster betweene her two famous Husbands, John Beaufort, Marquis Dorset, eldest son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster: and Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the 2^d. son of King Henry 4th. Lord High Steward, and Generall of the Kings Army in France, and a braue warrior.

As I came out of this Chappell, I spy'd a Grauestone, vnder which lay Katherin Drake, the youngest Daughter of 33, of Nicholas Drake Esq., a fruitfull old Gentleman.

From thence I was conducted through a long Arch'd vault called the whispering place, vnder the Stayres that mounts vp into the Quire, into the Martyrdome of Thomas Becket, where he was pitch'd ouer from the top of these staires after hee was slaine.

Therein I found the Monument of Archbishop Warham; Hee was sent Embassador by King Henry 7th. to the Duke of Burgundy, and Lord Chancellor of England, till he was wrought

out of that honorable place by the powerfull Favourite Cardinall Wolsey: He Crowned that high and mighty Prince Henry the 8th.

fo. 353^b.

/Also Archbishop Vfford his Statue, in wood, he was Brother to the Earle of Suffolke. A^o. 1348.: these 2. lye sleeping vnder that faire rich window there.

A late Monument for D^r. Chapman, which is close to the place, where Thomas Becketts dismall fall was.

The Monument of Archbishop Stafford, the noble and learned son of the Earl of Stafford, Lord Chancellor to King Henry 5th.

There lyeth also vnder a fayre Grauestone, Archbishop Deane, who gaue the Iron worke on Rochester Bridge.

In that Martyrdome, there are 4 other Grauestones of Pryors.

Next I made a step into the Lady Chappell, where a true, remembrance of our fraile condition, weake Mortality and humane Infirmities, did liuely and artificially represent it selfe by a curious Monument of Deane Fotherby, couered with a large and fayre Stone of black Marble, encircled with a Golgotha of skulls and Bones, most artificially cut and curiously engrauen in the purest Alabaster.

The Monument of D^r. Boyse, being his Statue in Alabaster, sitting in his Chayre with his Table and Booke before him, his Pen in one hand and leaning his head on the other, in an admirable studying posture.

Also vnder a fayre Marble stone lieth interr'd Deane Rogers.

In a little Chappell, on the right Ile of the Church, vnder a faire plaine Grauestone of 4. yards in length, lyeth Archbishop Islip, Lord Priuy Seale to King Edward 3^d. Hee gaue his vestments of Gold and a sumptuous Canopy and much Plate to this Church, and desir'd to be thus obscurely bury'd, A^o. 1366.

By his, as plainly and obscurely, lyeth vnder another Grauestone, Archbishop Arundell, 3^d. son of Richard Fitz Allen, Earle of Arundell; he was consecrated Bishop of Ely at the age of 22. yeares, Lord Chancellor of England, Archbishop of York and from thence remou'd hither; he gaue rich Plate and ornaments to all the Churches where he was Bishop, and built heere at the west end of this Church, a faire and goodly Steeple and bestow'd a Ring of 5. Bells, which is called at this day by his Name. This Bishop crowned 2. famous Lancastrian Kings, Henry the 4th. and the 5th.

A fayre grauestone for Serieant Louelace neere as long as the other.

On the other side lieth Sr. John Boyse and some others

Vnder the Quire is a strong and spacious Arch'd Church, like to St. Faiths vnder Pauls; in this Church the French performe their deuotions with an extraordinary great Auditory hauing belonging to her neere 10000. Communicants.

Beyond that, vnder Thomas Becketts Tombe Lies 2. Anchoresses, whereof the one is voted the Holy Lady of Kent, or rather the Lady Vndercroft; Her Monument is close adioyning to a rich and neat Chappell, wherein, as they say, she daylie perform'd her Deutions.

There also vnder in the darke lieth Archbishop Morton in a little Chappell of his owne building, who though he lyeth heere sleeping so obscurely, yet in his waking time he was very diligent, and brought much happiness to this our Land, for by his wisdom was wrought an Vnion betweene the 2. Houses of Lancaster and Yorke, that so long and bloo/dily had con- fo 354. tended for the Soueraignty and put a finall period to those vnciuil, ciuill Dissentions.

Diuerse other ancient monuments there are, of Bishops, Priors, Cannons, and other Church men, which lye interr'd in this huge and spacious, vast vault, all much defac'd and obscur'd by time, which I had not leysure to search out and obserue.

I then was desirous to see the Chapter House, into which I was kindly conducted, this they make their Preaching Place, or Church, the rooffe whereof is seal'd with Irish wood, neat, and richly gilt, the windows correspondent fayre and rich, and a neat small Organ in her; the handsome, and neat seats for the Bishop, and rest of the Churchmen, the Mayor, and Aldermen, Knights and Gentlemen doe adorne and beautify it much.

The Cloyster adioyning to this famous ancient Cathedrall is large and spacious, with many fine Marble Pillers: Vpon the Seeling aboue, round about the Cloysters, are all or most of the ancientest and cheifest Armes of this Kingdome, that came in with King William the Conqueror.

Next I march'd into a long Arch'd darke Cloysture, leading to the Deanery, wherein (as they say) the well fed Monkes and Fryers did (in the dayes of old) iuggle and iumble; And, as it is fear'd, in those sayd dayes of yore, some slips pass'd from them.

The Archbishopps Pallace, the Deanery, and Prebends Houses

and other goodly Buildings, belonging to this famous Cathedrall, are many, and take vp a large Circuit of ground, to obserue which, it tooke vp much of my time, that I had to spend there. And longer time I would gladly have spent there, had I not beene call'd away to that once famous and flourishing Monastery of St. Augustine;¹ where that Learned and renowned Monke had sometimes his Residence, as being the first Founder of the Abbey, the first Archbishop of that See, and the first Propagator and Tiller of the Christian Religion heere in this Nation.

In this famous Place there now liues a bountifull, generous, and noble Lady,² where I had (besides a most curteous entertainment within) a full contentiue view without, of all the Buildings and Towers; the faire gardens and Orchards, sweet walkes, Labirinth-like wildernesses and Groues; rare Mounts and Fountaines; all which togeather take vp the encompassing space and circuit of neere 20. or 30. Acres; In most part of which did those rare demolish'd Buildings sometimes appeare in much Glory and Splendor.

That which remains as sad Reliques of this goodly Monastery, and which are yet standing, is King Ethelberts Tower, St. Augustines Gate, the spacious and stately great Hall, the Ruines of the Abbey Church and Chappells, the round Archt kitchin with 8. Chimneys in it and Cellars adioyning: most of the goodly Stones belonging to these sumptuous Edifices are changed to a new Habitation,³ besides other that were caryed away and plac'd in great Mansions of this Kingdome, the which will fully testify what the pristine beauty and magnificence of this place hath beene, and whiche (doubtlesse) had been the stateliest and richest Structure in the Nation.

But doe not thinke that I weary you with my Relation, since the honest Head Gardiner was not att all weary'd to march with /me those long walkes, to wheele into those pretty contriu'd woody Mazes; to climb and scale those high Mounts, which I will onely giue a touch off, for thus I found them.

In the middst of this delicate Garden and Paradiice, with the Orchard of delicate Fruites, there is one sweet and delightfull walke of 40. Rod in length, beset and shaddow'd, and on both sides guarded with Lyme Trees; And in the middle of that sweet Garden, of fragrant, and delicious Flowers, close to the now Mansion Abbey,

¹ St Augustines Abbey, built A^o. 603.

² The Lady Wotton.

³ The New Exchange.

is a neet and curiously contriu'd Fountaine of pure cleere water, knee deep and 4. square, and in the midst a little greene Island and Charon in his Boat ; vpon the Banke lyes Snakes, Scorpions, and strange Fishes, which spout forth water about the Ferrimans eares and his Dog's, which is conuey'd away by the turning of a Cocke. About it stands Sentinells the watry Ninmphs (*sic*), on euery Quarter, yet one of them lamely with but one arme, the other being disarm'd by the Royall steddý hand of our gracious Soueraigne, at his Marriage of his Royall Spouse in this City.

Heere was I showne St. Pancrasses Chappell, which is now conuerted to a Stillatory, although not very still in the nights, to such as doe ly there, for they shall be sure not to ouer-sleep themselves, but be called by their proper Names ; A strange watchword it seem'd to me, and as strange relations I heare of that Saint, none of which are, or shall be of the Articles of my Creed.

I could haue spent longer time heere, but that I had a watchword too, which called me away to a little Church ¹ standing there hard by, where that famous Royall Church and Monastery Builder ² receiued the Lauer of Baptisme from that Protosaint Augustine, 1000. yeeres agoe. Hee shew'd me the place (as neere as he could guesse) where that conuerted king, and other kentish kings his successors were interr'd.

Heere in this Church also that Holy Saint, and 9. more his Successors, besides St. Lawrence, who next succeeded him, vnto Archbishop Cuthbert, Gods Feild maker, were all bury'd and in-shrin'd ; first in the yard, then remou'd into the Porch, then translated into the Church, and after all cannoniz'd Saints ; where I'll leaue them to their quiet repose, and hasten from the Scytuation, Description and Gouvernment of this famous Church and its Appendancies, which haue stay'd me somewhat long, to the City and the Gouvernment thereof, wherein I will be breife.

The Antiquity of this City makes her Mansions not very splendid, yet some there are, wherein Knights and Gentlemen of good ranke ³ and quality doe liue ; amongst diuerse others these : An old ruin'd Castle is there, built by Julius Cæsar ; there is also 12. Churches, besides the Cathedrall ; A fayre and durable Conduit ; The walles which surround her, haue about 30. or 40. Towers thereon ; 6. Gates and some Suburbs ; wherein I found a Mayor with a sword, and

¹ St. Martins.

² King Ethelbert.

³ Sr. Willam Brockman ; Sr. Edw Masters.

4. small Maces [blank] Aldermen, and a graue Recorder ; ¹ A great many of her Inhabitants are French, who are very watchfull and industrious ; there is a small Riuer runs through her ; The Dungill is a pleasant place within the walles for the Citizens and Gentry to walke and recreate themselues in, where, my curiosity hauing led me, I discouer'd some handsome Creatures.

fo. 355

When I was ready to depart from this City, I was stay'd by a volley of Shot, which was giuen to a noble young Gentleman /liuing in the Pallace,² newly made Capitaine after his Fathers death, by some of his Free, and forward Soldiers, who came voluntarily and purposely out of the Country to present him therewith : I found this generous young Captain had giuen them fayre Quarter, and Billested them in a safe Feild, more fitt for Mercury than Mars ; which was the Pallace Hall, a place big enough for a small Regiment, 60 Paces in length, and of a great breadth.

In this large Hall they had both Roome, and meanes enough to charge and discharge with Powder and Shot, for there was plenty of good Beere and briske Wine for them to Skirmish with freely ; and after they had showne their louing respects to him, and his kind bounty and frenesse to them, they march'd merrily away into the Country againe, and Hee into the City ;

Thither being come, a Ciuill and gentile Company were mett at a Tauerne and stay'd for the young Captain, purposely to be merry with a fat Bucke, which was courteously bestow'd by that noble Lady I so lately came from, for that end : thither also vpon this Captaines request must I march, where such good Company and such good Mirth there was amongst them, as was able to beguile the time, Although itt was high time for mee to hasten for another City, considering what memorable places I had to passe, and so long a way to march that weeke : therefore with my duest thanks return'd to this noble Gentleman, and the rest of his gentile associates, I bade them farewell, leauing them merrily washing downe the fat Venison.

Being mounted I posted away, ouer a little Riuer,³ into a faire Island of 7. Parishes,⁴ a Paradice for pleasant Meads and fertile Marishes, fruitfull and delightfull Fields of Corne, of 30. Miles

¹ Sr. Christopher Man ; Sr. Anthony Ager ; Sr. John Fotherby ; Sr. John Hales ; Mr. Louelace, Recorder, Sr. W^m. Bowyer ; The Lady Wotton ; Captain Wild, Captain Hammond, Mr. Boise, Mr. Hards ; Mr. Lad, Mr. Denn

² Capitaine Wild.

³ Stour

⁴ Isle of Thanet

in compasse, into which pleasant Island that learned Monke¹ and Saint first landed, and set footing and promulgated the Christian Religion, bringing heere with him diuerse Reliques of Saints (if report may begett Credit) as these; a part of Christs seemeless Coat; Arons rod that budded, which you may beleue if you be at Leisure; and the Miracles done by that holy She Saint the virgin Mildred.

But leauing these things, this I say, you may credit from me that at the Corner of this Island, at the very point and nooke of our Land, there runs into the maine Ocean, a mighty, long, strong, and winding Peere,² which deserues the sight of any Traueller, although her lowly Inhabitants doe not; Heere was I at the period of my Journey that way, and no farther could I march, vnlesse into the vast Sea, to be puzzled at Goodwin Sands.

Therefore after a short consultation with my Selfe, I suddenly fac'd to the right, and troop'd to a far better qualify'd Maritime-Towne,³ this Limbs Head and one of the Cinque Ports of this Kingdome, which way I thought but short in respect I was fauour'd some 6. or 7. miles as I rid, with the full view of the Nauy Royall riding in the Downes. And at this place, after I was ferry'd ouer to the Key side, I thought it safer for me to rest in at that time then to goe on to seeke vncertain Quartering at Deale, which was neerer the Nauy; therefore accordingly I resolu'd to abide at this Towne of Sandwich and there to take my rest for that time.

/Heere I found a pretty and well built Towne, both wall'd, and fo. 355b. dik'd about, with 5. Gates, neere half a mile in length, and a quarter in breadth, and many fair Streets therein; and more especially one,⁴ that runs all along in the middst of the Towne: there is a dainty sweet and cleare Riuolet about knee deepe, with Archt and pau'd Bridges ouer it to euery house, gliding through it. And another street⁵ that runs along through the Towne neerer the Key, with many fayre streets that crosse thwart the same. There is a fayre Towne Hall in the Markett Place, A fayre Free schoole by Canterbury Gate, built by the late Lord Cheife Baron Manwood; small vessells comes vp to the key; A Bulwarke there is with some Ordinance, but much decay'd.

There is 3. Churches in this Towne, one whereof euery 4. moneths is allotted to the Dutch, and the English Preachers for those times eas'd.

¹ St. Augustine

² Marget Peere.

³ Sandwich.

⁴ Delfe Street.

⁵ Sand Street

In one of these Churches ¹ is the Monument of St. Nicholas Sands who was one of the 3. Knights of that Name, that found'd the stately Hospitall for 12. Poore men, and women.²

Another Monument there is for M^r. Thomas Ellis, who founded another Hospitall there for 8. Poore Men and 4. women.³

I found this Towne govern'd by a Mayor, with a black mourning staffe (an Item for a negligent Centinell) and 12. Jurats : There is two Captaines that commaund the train'd Bands, made vp of the Inhabitants, who are in all 200. each Captaine hauing the Commaund of 100. men.

Heere whi[st] I was studying and enquiring for my best passage to the Fleet, I met most fortunately with a Captaine of one of the Ships Royall who was my neere acquaintance, and whom it was my intention to visite : with him I mounted and rid together all along by the shore, on the Downes of Sand to Sandowne Castle, and so onwards along the Coast, coasting the Fleet as they were then riding in the Downes to the next Castle and Towne, both of a name.⁴

Being arriu'd heere, the Captain my Freind for want of his owne Boat and men, was forc'd to take his Brother Capitaines to row vs thither to his whelp, through those blustering waues of 2. Miles, where the Saylor's soone receiu'd vs with their Ropes and Hands to ascend the Hatches ; where assoon as we were entred, his brother Commaunder of that Ship,⁵ vnderstanding by him, from whom and from whence I came, commaunded a Bottle of good Sacke into his Cabbín, and there began a full and hearty health to some Noble Persons. I was glad to see the Captains part so soone as they did ; for our short time of stay, the skirmish was very hot, and I fear'd the Lions feirce whelp might bite a Stranger.

From thence the Captain ⁶ and I sayl'd to his owne ship, where I had a free and hearty sea-fare Welcome and entertainment both from himselfe, his Lieutenant and others, and wanted nothing but a good stomacke ; the time that I stay'd there, I freely tasted of his Sacke, for other drinke I could not relish, my Stomacke was so queasy.

Heere was no abiding for me all night, for that I was to lodge at Douer, another Cinque Port ; so as I was forc'd to take my leaue of this generous Captaine, and made speed to gett againe to

¹ St. Peter.

³ St. Thomas Hospitall.

⁵ Captain Penruddocke, The Whelpe.

² St. Bartholomews Hospitall.

⁴ Deale Castle and Towne.

⁶ Captain Fletcher.

land ; he gaue mee at my parting with him, a Cup of choice Sacke ; a Cable-wand to commaund the waues ; and commaunded his Lieutennant and the Masters Mate to bee my Mates in our short Sea passage in his owne Boat with 8. Oares ; but for all their Labours and best endeauours, the Sea was so rough and boysterous, we were cast downe as low as the Castle I before did mention ; in which 2. mile short passage we were soundly toss'd and drenched.

As soon as we were landed wee march'd ouer a Ditch, and a Bridge/into this Castle-like Fort,¹ where the Lieutenant thereof fo. 356. presently march'd with vs the Round, both aloft where their great Ordinance are planted, and below, where 7. score Muskets may play all round within the bottome of the great Castle ; the Ditche is so neere vnto the Maine, that the Sea washeth into it, and sometimes ouerflowes it round.

Away then we march'd vpon the sand Bankes and Beach to the next Fort,² which is within a mile of this, built iust in the same round Moddell : and, as the other, is Seated close vpon the Maine with deep, and wide Ditches, and the Ordinance planted as in that : And heere I parted with the remembrance of the Captain my Freind in a glasse of Deale Wine, and where the Monarch Conqueror of the world,³ with his mighty Fleet of 1000. Sayle arriu'd.

A Mile from thence, vpon the top of the Hill, I halted and fac'd about, after I had pass'd by a third Sea-Fort,⁴ built, guarded, and prouided as the two former were, and is within a Mile of the last I came from ; heere the Lord Admirall then was, and some other Lords ;⁵ heere did I once more face that gallant Fleet which consisted of about 80. saile, amongst which were some Dutchmen, and some Marchants Ships that there rid at Anchor along the coast for about 2. Mile together, athwart those 3 Castles last spoke of, which did make a most Statelie show, representing a lofty wood at Sea, which for its quantity might compare with that great Roman Monarchs⁶ Sea-beaten Nauy, or that thundring, inuincible (as they term'd it) Armado, intended for a second Conquest of vs.⁷

On then I hasten to Douer, and thither I descended a steep, rocky, and high Hill, close by that famous Castle ; I found this Towne scytuated in a deepe bottome, close vpon the maine Ocean ; She needs no walles, for what with the high ouer-topping Cliffes,

¹ Sandowne Castle ; Captain Penniston

² Deale Castle , Captain Bing.

³ Julius Cæsar

⁴ Weymore Castle , Captain [blank]

⁵ Earle of Lindsey ; Admirall the Ld Conway ; The Ld Pawlett.

⁶ Julius Cæsar.

⁷ The Spanish Masquerade

all along on one side of her, the Castle Hills, as high, and higher, and the Hauen on the other side, the Forts and Bullworkes almost on euery part of her, these may well serue for to locke her vp safely, being the Cheife Cinque Port, Locke, and key of this kingdome, which key I found strongly warded and kept by a triple, strong, and watchfull Guard.

First by a mighty, strong, spacious, and defensible Castle,¹ built by Julius Cæsar, scytuated close to the Maine Sea vpon a great Rock and high Hill, inuiron'd round a Mile about, with a strong wall and many Towers, with double deep Ditches, a large, fayre Bridge, and a strong Gatehouse ;

After I entred her, I had my Guard to march the rounds, a pretty Compasse, where I had a full view of all the stately Ordinance planted in and about her, but one more remarkable I spy'd, which I tooke more speciall notice off, which lay brauely mounted amongst many other, with her Brazen Nose vpon the Maine Cliffe towards Bullen , it is 8 yards long, and was sent by the Hollanders for a New yeeres Guift to our late renowned Virgin Queen, which she valew'd aboue her Court Plate.

From hence wee march'd vp againe to the great Castle, and there mounted vp 120. Stayres to the Leads, whereon I had a full view of the Towne, standing vnderneath me in a deep hole ; of all the Towers within her, which shew'd like a Towne, within it Selfe ; of all her owne and neighbouring Bulwarks within the Towne ; of the stately Shippes sayling through and riding in that braue Road : nay further, I saw part of our neighbouring Kingdome, Callice and Bullen, enough (I thinke[]) to see in one place ; and descending downe againe/I pass'd by the Guard Chamber, the Chamber of Presence, and the Bed Chambers for both their Majesties. And by the way, where our now gracious Soueraigne first met and saluted his Royall Spouse, I mett with these two verses written on a little Tablet.

*All Places of this Castle, onelie this
Where Charles & Mary, shar'd a Royall kisse* } properly

From thence I descended by the well of 100. fathome deepe, and soe by the sounding Place in the yard to the Church, built by the first Christian Brittish king,² wherein I view'd 3. Monuments.

The fairest Monument is in an Ile by it selfe, not many yeeres

¹ Douer Castle ; E. of Suffolke, Lord Lieutennant ; Sr. John Culpeper, Deputy Lieut^{nt}. ; Mr. Crips, Vice-deputy.

² King Lucius.

agoe erected; it is richly built of Black and White Marble, the 4. Pillers that runs up at the 4. Corners are of White Marble; the Table Blacke, whereupon is curiously cut in Alabaster the liuely Portraiture of that most noble Peere, Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, most artificiall (*sic*) done, in a kneeling Posture.

A neat Monument for Sr. Thomas Waller, who but latelie was Lieutenant there.

And the third Monument is for Sr. Robert Ashton, who was sometimes Lord Constable of this Castle.

By this time my Guard and I were both of vs weary and thirsty, so we both of vs agreed to rest in a Coal Vault-Celler, there to coole our selues, and to take a Cup of their strong Castle Liquor, in their brazen Horne, to refresh and enable vs the better couragiously to scale and enter the other Forts in the Towne.

During our small stay in this our Refectory, I met (me thought) with no small wonder, which was a pretty difficult passage of a desperate bold Butcher,¹ that rather then he would part with his feeling and the horne, would aduenture with one of his horn'd Creatures a dangerous tumble off those high, rocky, and steep Cliffes, who in soe doing had far better Lucke then great Gogmagog had to preserue his necke, for hee, for all this his bold attempt, was most miraculously preseru'd beyond all expectation.

To leaue both Hornes, the one to the Coal Caue-keeper, the other to the hot Flesh-Feeler, we were speedily call'd away, for the Gates were to be shut and a new Watch set: and what shall I more relate of this strong and impregnable Castle? It is securely kept and vigilantly watch'd, warded, and rounded euery day and euery night; to preuent attempts or suprisall.

Besides this, there are 2. other Forts and Bullwarks, one vpon the side of that high Cliffe by the Castle with 10. Peeces of Ordinance and the Captaines Lodging:² The other at the other end of the Towne nigh vnto this Peere next the Maine with 20. Peeces of Ordinance thereon mounted; In it is a neat fayre House for the Gouvernor thereof³ to reside in; Both which Forts are an additionall strength to this Port, and are constantly and strictly watch'd and guarded as the Castle.

Another Place there is, right against the Hauen, betweene the Castle and the Peere, call'd Pennillesse Bench, but more properly the Custome House, where there is 6. Peeces of faire Brasse Ordin-

¹ A desperate Act.

² Captain Collins

³ Captain Parciual.

ance mounted on their Carriages : Heere the Officers sitt to receiue the kings Custome , and heere the Lord Warden and his Chancellor keep their Admiralty Court.

o. 357.

/This long Towne¹ is indifferently well built, more especially about the Market Place, where they haue a fayre Towne Hall built with 2. Squares and 20. woodden Arches ; wherein M^r. Mayor with his white Staffe of Authority and 3. Maces, with his whole Jury of Jurats, sit to execute Justice ; Her Inhabitants are English, French, and Dutch, for whom there are 2. Churches to performe their Deuotions in ; and as many Captaines to exercise their Armes with.

The Peere is mighty strong, vpon the maine Ocean ; the mouth of the Hauen is very narrow and is a dangerous tickle winding entrance for vnskilfull Mariners ; the Shippes lye vp all along to the Bridge where the Sluces are, almost to the Custome House.

It's time now to hasten to another Cinque Port, yet before I parted from this, I was to gratify my little, nimble French Guide and his late new-come-ouer-sister, where I lay billeted, which was att the Bull, in this Port.

After which done, I speedily posted through the Limbes of this Port to the Body of the next, by Sangate Castle² built close vpon the Sea, of a round Moddell, the height, forme, and strength, like those 3. I lately left guarding the Fleet, but yet somewhat in decay ; and soe through Foulston, which is big enough to maintaine a Mayor with some Jurats, hauing also a small Hauen and a Captain within it selfe : Their Church is close vpon the maine Sea, wherein are these Monuments.

A faire Monument for St^t. Basill Dixwell, whose Mansion standeth close by the Church and the Sea.

Also a Monument for one M^r. Philpots ; M^r. Reads Monument ; And another for an old Warriour.

From hence I speeded to Hyth, another Cinque Port, which hath a Mayor, Jurats, and a Captain belonging to her , I found very little heere to obserue ; therefore away I hy'de me to the next Cinque Port³ which I found as small and poore as this, yet retayning the like Priuiledges, of a Mayor, Jurats and a Captain, as the last doth : so on I speed by Lidd, her Limb, which out-growes her Body, leauing the Beach, where that Leather-saint Crispian was (as report flyes) washt vp, to one of the ancient Townes in the next County.

Although in these last Townes I found not such remarkable

¹ Douer.

² Sangate Castle ; Captain Islip.

³ Rumm.

Habitations, Fortifications, and Scytuations, as before, yet before I leaue them, or this famous Rich County, wherein I haue march'd soe long, I must tell you I troop'd ouer such a parcell of rich Marish Ground¹ (of aboue 12. miles long, and all along by the Sea) so abundantly fertile as in fatnesse of Soile preceeds all other in this Kingdome; which swarm'd and abounded with faire and fat cattle, both Bullocks and Sheep, in abundant measure. The breaches of the Sea are constantly most violent, furious and dangerous to this rich, grazing Sea-land, which is indeed the Seas bountie; but the Continent is so large² that the Owners thereof are but little press'd to defray the Charges of this great worke, which is weekly bestow'd therein, the which at 4d. the Acre, amounts to 100 li. the weeke to performe the same: A braue plaine leuell of fertile Ground togeather.

As I pass'd through this famous Leuell, at Dym Church, I lighted on that time that their Sessions or Assizes (I know not which properly to tearme them), where did sit vpon Life and Death, a worshipfull Bench, consisting of M^r. Baliffe of the Marish, 3. Justices, /flanking his Worships right Side, and 3. Jurats his left, and the fo. 357b. mouth of their Court, a nimble tounge'd Man o' Law, who spoke all, rul'd all, order'd all, iudg'd all, and hang'd all: For the other Crue, the deep profound Distributors of Justice I before mention'd, and their graue and wise Grand Jury of Marsh-Men, I conceyted were fauourable to poore Delinquents and sad Malefactors; for they seem'd to bee good honest Grasiers and Butchers, that delighted more to hang vp Calues then Men.

To leaue them to doe Justice, let me Skip iust where I left, and now must leaue this County at Gulford Ferry, by the Nesse, where I was more puzzled to passe out of her then I was to come in, and that in respect of the vncertaine Tydes. Yet at last, though late, and with much adoe, I was carry'd ouer that Hauen into the next County,³ that runs down to Appledore, into one of the two ancient Port Townes, Rye, and there rested at the Mermayd. And well may it be called (as it is) ragged Rye, both for her Inhabitants sakes and her Streetes, for to lye Ledger there but one weeke, is enough to infect a Man, and to march vp and downe there but 2. Houres, is sufficient to founder a Soldier.

This Port is much like to Harwich, both for her Scytuation and her Buildings, being round and seated on the top and side of a Hill: The Sea inuirones her round about, and thereby makes her a little

¹ Rumney Marsh.

² 20000 Acres.

³ Sussex.

pretty Island Maritime Towne ; onely one narrow passage there is into her by Land. I found her (as she is) equall with a Cinque Port, with a Mayor and a Captain ; Her Bowling Ground, (which is close by the Hauen) is guarded with good Bowles to play with, 6. Peeces of Ordinance ; I heard there was also rugged doeings vpon her Coasts, by the piltring Pynasses of the ragged French.

Although I had not farre to her ancient sister Mayor Towne ¹ mounted also on a Hill, opposite against this, on the other side of the other Streame, that runs downe to Bread, yet in that little distance I was forc'd to passe ouer 2. Ferries, the one out of this, the other into her.

This Place I found ancient indeed, so as little is left of her statelinessse and vniformity she hath beene of : Heere I obseru'd a statelie decorum of Buildings, which she had in her flourishing time, viz^t. 6. faire wide Streets runs quite through the Towne both wayes a long and a crosse, so straight and euen in their Rankes and Files as the Art of the Builders could make them ; which made 36. quarters and square dimensions of faire buildings in her, euery quarter contayning the same square quantity, that the Churchyard still doth of 2. Acres ; So as if you had marcht any way in her, in the distance of a stones cast, you had beene sure to meet with a crosse way, the most part whereof was very strongly arch'd vnder ground and handsomely Cellar'd : In some of these large vaults ouer which I was, now the Horse feeds, and the Coulter cutts, and some old ruinated Iuy-twin'd walls yet stands.

There are the ruins of some old Towers still standing also, but whether they be the Walles of some Castle, or Fort for defence, or the Reliques of some demolish'd Monastery for Hospitalitie, or some Church, or Chappell for deuotion, worme-eating Time hath so much extinguish'd as not the least trace remaines whereby to trace them to a distinguishing discouery. Surely this Towne/was formerly of great note, when (as they say) 50. braue Tauerne Signes shin'd in her, now scarce one Signe for a Cup of good Beere.

There is in this Towne an old great vast Church in which are some few ancient old Monuments yet to be seene.

In the south side of the Quire, there lyes 2. old warriors of the Family of the Oxenbridges in their durable martiall Freestone weeds.

On the North side of the Quire, Lies 2. ancient Bishops in their Habits ; And by them another old Man 'o warre : all which

¹ Winchelsey.

they say was taken out of the old Church long sithence eaten vp with the Sea.

I was (I confesse) so much taken heerewith that ouertaken I was with the night, ere I reach'd my intended Quarter : therefore away I hastened from this ancient Port, to the last Cinque Port in this Countie, and passing thitherward I saw a fayre House and Parke of an ancient Gentlemans,¹ and mounted vp to the top of a very high Commaunding Hill ² on the which I view'd a great [part] of the County I was in, and of the other that I last came from.

I found this Port Towne³ gouvern'd, as the other, by a Mayor, 12. Jurats ; and Commaunded by a Captain ; guarded with some Peeeces of Ordinance mounted on 2. Bulwarkss ; beautify'd with 2. Churches, parted by a small Riuer that runs quite through the Towne. And there I saw the ruines of a large, old, strong, Castle, close vpon the high Cliffe, neere the Maine, quite demolish'd : and not far from this Port Towne did that famous Norman Duke first conquer the Danes,⁴ at that famous Battell, where the hazzard of wining or loosing the whole Land, was try'd in one dayes fight, and the Heptarchy quite extingush'd.

On then I speed by the rowling Waues and high Cliffes to that place where that couragious Conqueror first landed,⁵ and found 56. Inhabitant Burgesses in it ; there I found a stately, strong, and large Castle,⁶ nott long since flourishing, the Court whereof is 8. Acres, encompass'd round with a strong wall, now somewhat ruin'd, but the Castle much more ; and both a great deal too much ; And soe leauing on my right hand a fayre Habitation of a noble Lords,⁷ I rid all along by the Sands, to the holy quiet Lamb in Borne ; there was I safely billeted.

The next Morning I mounted vnto a Mill that stood in the Clouds, neere a knights Seat, and so along on those high Downes, taking a fayre Prospect of the deep and fertile wilds to the habitation of a right worthy Knight,⁸ who liu'd not therein Himselfe at that time, but was then the Residence of a noble Knight ⁹ for his pleasure. For this House is sweetlie seated, both for Pleasure and Profit, betweene the pleasant high Downes and the rich deep Leuell. And in their little Church, there is a Monument for one of that Familie some time Lord Chamberlaine.

¹ Mr Ashburnham.

³ Hastings.

⁵ Pensey.

⁸ Fuell, Sr John Gages.

² Farry Beacon.

⁴ W^m. the Conqueror ; Battayle.

⁶ Pensey Castle.

⁷ The Ld Dacres.

⁹ Sr. W^m. Howard.

From hence I went to the next Towne,¹ which is a Corporation, reasonably well built, and of that bignes that in it are 5. Churches. A Hauen there is to it for small Vessells. Heere is a goodly House belonging to a right Honorable Lord;² and in this place hath beene a fayre and strong Castle, now quite demolish'd.

Then I troop'd to the Maine, against Brighthemston, which is a pretty, quick Fishing Towne of 30. or 40. Barkes; so on to Shoram Ferry by new Shoram Hauen, where a Ship of 300. Tunns burthen was new built, and lanch'd.

fo. 358b.

I hasten to Arundell, leauing that ancient Castle³ with her/large Priuiledges, belonging to that right noble Peere,⁴ the Possessor thereof; and so along in that Lords Liberties⁵ a long way, by diuerse Seats of Knights and Gentlemen, till I entred ouer the Bridge, into that ancient Corporation of Arundell,⁶ strongly guarded by a Mayor-Captaine and his Aldermen; relier'd with a conuenient pretty Hauen; and grac'd with an ancient, strong and stately Castle,⁷ hauing the Name and Dignity of the Earldome annexed to it; giuen by Mawd the Empresse to the first Earle thereof.

This goodly Castle belongs now to that noble Earle before mentioned, sweetly and naturally Scytuated vpon a gracefull ascent, close by a pleasant Riuer.⁸ Heere I had fayre quarter and good correspondency through my former acquaintance with some of [his] Lordships Gentlemen there, whereby I had a full, ample and contentiue View of all the stately Roomes and faire Towers; the delightfull Gardens, large wooded Parkes, and pleasant waters belonging thereunto.

First, at my entrance, ouer the Bridge, is a double strong Gate house, with Portculliss's, wherein are neat and conuenient Lodgings for the Constable, the Warder, and Porter of the Castle; then on I march't into the spacious and large Court, built about euery way; On the right hand next the Towne, is the lofty, large, and stately old Hall, the which in respect of the Antiquity thereof is somewhat ruinous, but now the same is repaying; neere it is the ample Kitchens, Pastries, Larders, with many other appendant Roomes and convenient Office-Houses, betweene the Hall and the Gate-house.

Ouer against these, on the other side of the Court, which is next vnto the Garden and Parke, is a spacious, goodly Dyning Roome,

¹ Lewes.

⁴ Earl of Arundell.

⁷ Arundell Castle.

² Earl of Dorset.

⁵ Arundell Rape.

⁸ Arun.

³ Bramber Castle.

⁶ Arundell Towne.

with Windowes Castle-like, in which hangeth a rich curious Picture, with our blessed Sauour on the Crosse, the 2. Theeues on either hand, and Joseph of Arimatea, our Sauours Mother, S^t. John and the other Woman mourning and looking on, all most admirably and pathetically drawne; Adioyning thereunto is a stately long Gallery, with many curious and rich Pictures hanging in it, amongst the which the King and Queen of Tunis are worth the obseruing; Many other Lodgings there are, very conuenient and handsome, with retyring Roomes and other Apartments furnish'd and hung with Tapistry and other rich Hangings, in this Princely Castle, both on that side, and at that end next vnto the Riuer: And vnder the lower Roomes there are braue, large, archt Cellers belonging vnto it.

From the Gatehouse I pass'd, ouer an ascending Bridge, a deepe Ditch to a high round Tower, call'd by the Castle's name,¹ part of the Walles whereof are still standing, and the high Hill on which it stands still shew the rotundity thereof; all which in the wall is now a Garden, where the Tower stood, and round about to the brow of the Hill, is an Orchard replenished with store of fruitfull Appletrees, Peeretres, Plumtrees, and Filberdtrees. A large sweet Garden there is within the walles, which are round about inuironed with a broad and deep ditch, and on both sides of the browe thereof doth grow very thicke, old, high Trees, of Oake, Ashe, and Maple.

Neere adioyning to the Castle in the Parke, a spring breakes outt,² worth the noting, that suddenly makes a large Poole of water, which continually supplyes a water Mill close by, well wrought, and custom'd, and bringing in a pretty yeerely Reuenue.

But before I leaue this place I cannot let passe without some remarke, the stately Sword or Hanger of that valiant and redoubted Warrior,³ which is 2. yardes Long and 2. inches broad, and which to/bee shewne me, was drawne against me (though not in anger) fo. 359. wherewith (as some say) he vanquish'd that huge and mighty Gyant.⁴

The next sight I was led to be showne, was not so sharp as this weapon, but a curteous refreshing bit, which I (hauing got a good Stomacke with walking) heartily fell to with the honest old Blades, the Keepers of the Castle, my good old acquaintance; which refreshment enabled me the better to march to the Church, and Colledge, the subject of my next obseruation.

¹ Arundell Tower.

³ Beuus.

² A plentiful Spring.

⁴ Expart.

Hither being come, I found the Chancell to be the Chappell, appropriated and belonging onely to the Earles of that Castle and Colledge ; wherein are many fayre, ancient, and rich Tombes and Monuments of that most noble Family, as these :

On the North side against the high Altar (which is of a pretty Longitude, being 4. yards) runs vp against the Wall a faire and large Monument of Gray Marble, without any Statue, vnder which lyes interr'd Thomas Earl of Arundell, Baron Matrauers, and of Clun, Knight of the Garter. He marry'd Lady Margaret, one of the Heyres of Richard Wooduill, Earl Riuers, sister to Elizabeth, Queen of England, and wife of Edward 4th. A^o. 1324 (*sic*).

William Earl of Arundell his son, who marry'd Ann the Daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland in Henry 8th. time. Hee was father to Henry, the last Earl of Arundell, whose Monument and Inscription is fully set forth.

His Monument is one (*sic*) the South Side of the Altar, next the Colledge Cloyster, with all his high honors, Titles, and Dignities deservedly and graciously bestow'd vpon him by King Henry 8th. his Princely Sonne, Edward 6th. and gracious Daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, Queens of England, viz. He was Lord Gouvernor of Callice, High Marshall at the Siedge of Bullen, Lord Chamberlaine to King Henry 8th. Lord Chamberlaine and Lord Marshall to King Edward 6th, Lord High Constable, Lord High Steward, and Lord President of the Counsell to Queen Mary ; Lord High Steward to Queen Elizabeth ; And a Privy Counsellor to all. Obiit A^o. 1579.

Next him lyes an Earle and his Countesse in their proper Statues, artificially caru'd in pure white Alabaster, lying vnder a faire large Arch, or rather a neat little Chappell of Gray Marble curiously caru'd and cut and most richly gilded.

In the middst of this Chappell on a fayre Tombe lieth an Earle of Arundell and his Countesse, who was Beatrice the King of Portugalls Daughter, their Statues in Alabaster.

Betweene this Chappell and another little one call'd the Lady Chappell, on the north side heereof, lyeth an Earle of that Family in white Alabaster, in his Martiall habitt, with his Anotomy vnderneath.

In the middst of that little Chappell is the Monument of an Earle that match'd with Berkeley in Edward 4th. time. Vnderneath is a sepulcher, wherein many long since, and

diuerse of late yeeres of this present Noble Family, lye peaceably interr'd, it being a spacious vault.

Vpon the fayre East window aboue the High Altar are emblazon'd the Armes of the Earles of that noble Family, with their Honourable Matches, who were Founders thereof. After I was fully satisfy'd heere, I next marcht the rounds of the Cloister/the walkes and fo. 359b. Gardens belonging to the Colledge, and into a fayre long Building thereby, which sure hath beene some Hospitall or Almes-house, whereim now (his Lordship giuing way) the Sessions are kept.

At the end of this long edifice, there is a round low Tower, built vp of Stone narrow like a Steeple to the top, which was the place for their Fire in the night time, and the day also, which was plac'd in the middst with a Bench of Freestone round about by the wall for these good old Blades to rest on and warme their cold bloods: The forme whereof, is somewhat rare and vnusuall in these parts, much like a Stoue.

Before I parted hence, a Messe of my Lords Gentlemen and the honest Parson of the Towne, gave me a hearty Cup of briske Canary for my parting Foy, which made me ride liuelily to the next Cittie, leauing this ciuill gentile Company and all those braue large Parkes¹ stor'd with goodly wood, excellent Timber, and stately Heards of Deere, with all the ancient Liberties, and Priuiledges of the Hundred, belonging to this most stately and Princely Castle, and soe hasten away for Chichester, hauing in sight as I rode 3. or 4. fayre Houses and Seats; ² and heere was the period of my second weekes Trauell.

This little City (built by a Saxon King) stands sweetly in a pleasant fertile Leuell, and not far from the maine Sea, her Buildings are indifferent, and her Streets fayre and cleane, especially those 4. cheife Streets that with the 4. Windes, runs streight along from the 4. Gates to the neat, round-bult Freestone Crosse, which stands in the very center of this sweet little City, with 8. faire Arches, with statues round about, aboue curiously and artificially cutt and caru'd with the Crucifix on the top; which Crosse was built and erected at the cost and Charges onely of Bishop Read.

The Citties compasse is about a Mile and a halfe, inuiron'd with a wall; Her Gouvernment is regulated by a Mayor with his 4. Maces,

¹ Arundell Parke; Badworth Parke; Solhurst Parke.

² Allingburne, the Bishops; Goodwood, the Earl of Northumberland; Sr. Garret Kemps, Sr. John Chipmans.

12. Aldermen, and a gentile, proper, and discreet Recorder,¹ One City Captain, who commaunds and trayns 150. of her Citizens.

I found 8. Churches here for her Inhabitants to performe their deuotions in, of the which the Cathedrall Church² is one: which is not very large, but reasonable faire; her Organs small, and voyces but indifferent.

The Monuments in her are not many nor rich, but ancient and plaine. First in the place beyond the High Altar, where the rich shrine of St. Richard sometimes stood, are 2. plaine Monuments with Statues of 2. ancient old Bishops, in their Episcopall Habits.

On the south Ile of the Quire Lies Bishop Sherburne, in Alablaster gilt, and reasonably well kept. Hee painted the Quire, and the Church, and was the last Bishop before the suppression.

On the North of the Quire, lyes Bishop Bickley; And by him is a Marble Tombe of an ancient old Bishop.

In the South Crosse Ile, lyeth in Alablaster another old Bishop, right vnder that great wndow which he built.

A Monument for Mr. Smallpage on the wall, vnder that window.

There are many other Monuments all of blew Marble on the Walls, and about this Church in seuerall places, but the graulings so much raz'd, and the Brasse pickt out and stolne away, aswell on these, as also out of all the goodly graue stones in the Quire, Church and Chappells; which is not onely a malicious detriment to posterity; but an inhumane, sordid, and base sacrilegious Act, to steale away and vtterly to extinguish the memories or knowledge of many vertuous, religious, pious, and liberall Benefactors, that therein lye interr'd.

Also in the Crosse Ile of this Church on one side thereof, in their Pontificall Vestments, and holy Postures stands the Images of 60. Bishops of this See, from St. Wilfrid Archbishop of Yorke, at whose Petition Cedwaller King of the South Saxons built this Cathedrall, which before was a small Island³

¹ Mr. Lewknor, Recorder.

² The Cathedrall, St. Richard Bishop Montague. Dr Steward, Deane; Canon of Worcester, Preb^d. of Salisbury, and The King's Chaplain; Dr. Burstocke; Mr Dee, Bishop of Peterborough's son, Mr. Hicks, Mr Pay, Canons Resident and Masters of the Church; Dr. Andrews, Church Chancellor; Dr. Neull, Bishops Chancellor; Dr Hutchison, Arch-Deacon of Lewis; Dr. Potter, Chantor; Dr. Nowell, Treasurer; Prebends, 4. Non-Residents; 12. Singing Men in orders; 8. Boyes.

³ Selsey.

thereby, most parte of which is now swallow'd vp in Neptunes insatiate wombe.

On the other side stands in their Regall Robes and Martiall Postures, most artificially also depainted on the wall, all the kings from King Cedwaller (with his Royall *fiat vt petitur* to the St. Wilfrid's Petition) and the Kings also from William the Conqueror, the 2. last famous, Henry 7th. and Henry 8th. graciously enlarging the Priuiledges of this Church.

On the other Crosse Ile, north of the Quire, are seats for the Parish, where they haue alwayes haue (*sic*) constant Prayers. And 2. little Chappells there are, on either side, one of the Ladies Chappell, beyond St. Richards Shrine; The one called Arundells Chappell, in which, in the Windowes is the White Horse, Matrauers knot, and the Lion. The other Rymans Chappell, who built the Tower thereby, where the Bells hang, and Christened it with his owne Name.

The Church hath 5. Iles and great Pillers, in the middle Ile of the 5. are all the Sermons preach'd.

In the North Ile by the Wall, lyeth a Prince in Armour, who (as they say) liu'd in the woods in Edward 3^d. time with a Lion at his Feet, and his Lady by him; Some report he was Lord Berkley of Bozom.

In the same Ile by the wall, and neerer to the Quire and the Crosse Ile, lyeth the Statue of an Archoresse, or strict recluse Nun, neere vnto which is a pretty little Roome for such a one.

On the South Ile of the Church, is a large Marble Tombe without Statue, Inscription or memoriall whose it is.

After this, when I had view'd the 2. Cloysterries of the Church and Vicars, the large Pallace hall, the Deanery, and other Edifices, I then ascended vp 200. stayres, to the foot of that faire and high Spire, which they affirme to bee but halfe way; from which place vpwards within the same to the Top, is neither Wood, stayres nor Lofts, but the meere Wall, which gaue to my eye a braue, lofty, and rotund Prospect.

From hence I tooke a full view of this pleasant and sweet little City and her delightfull Scytuation; and the Maine Sea, and the pleasant Islands¹ thereabouts, with the goodly seats/of Lords, fo. 360b. Knights and Gentlemen there not far off; ² yett did the braue

¹ Wight and Selsey.

² Goodwood, the Earle of Northumberland; Allingborne, the Bishops; Bozom, the Lord Berkley's, Hamker, Sr. W^m. Morley's; Hamney, St. John Chipman's; Kingston, Capt. Oglanders.

Downes interpose between me and the desired view of three gallant Seats of 3. Noble Lords, Petworth, the Earle of Northumberland; Stanstead, the Lord Lumley's, and Meadowes the Lord Montagues.

The famous report of the first of these braue and goodly Seats made me very willingly to deuiate from my right and direct Road no lesse then 12. Miles, to gaine a particular, satisfying sight thereof, and there also to visite some Persons that neerly related to that great Peere of our Kingdome, who were my intimate acquaintance, and Country men; one whereof was his Lordships Chaplain, and the other one of his Gentlemen Vshers.¹

Heere had I by their good assistance a full, ample, and satisfactory sight of all that was in my longing desire to know off or to see in this Prince-like House². To set out the glory whereof suiting its statelinesse, were a labour aboue my performance to decipher. Or to set forth the braue Parkes replenish'd with store of Deere; The walkes, Gardens, Orchards, Bowling Ground, Stables and Fish-Ponds without, The sumptuous Chambers, Parlors, Galleries, Chappell, Hall, Cellars and Kitchens within, with all their rich Furniture, Adornments, Delights, and Appurtenances, were too long a taske, they being all soe magnificent and complete.

Yet must I not passe them so slightly, since I past so far out of my way (as I had done) to see them. And first I will begin with that I desir'd first to see, the like whereof I am sure not a subiect in all England hath to show: The stately, lofty, faire built Stables, which are 80. of my Paces in length, wherein I view'd 2. such Rankes of handsome, proper, hunting Geldings, neat braue Saddle Nags for the Road, and lusty, stout Coach-Horses, 60. in all in each Ranke; a Troop of Cauallry worth the viewing, the like not in this Land.

All along, and round it is pau'd next the wall, and broad enough for 3. or 4. to walke a breast, with admirable stone like Freestone, growing in his Lordships owne Grounds, wherewith this stately Fabricke is built and couer'd with white Slat like the same.

Betweene this pau'd Walke and the Horses feete in a small Channell runs (when the Groomes please by turning a Cocke) a cleere Streame of faire water, so as they keep their Stables therewith as sweet and cleane as the Butlers doe their Offices.

This Square hath a partition Wall that runs all along in the middst, to which the Racks and the Mangers are fastned, which makes it

¹ Mr. Cruso, Chaplain; Mr. Blumford, Vsher.

² Petworth, the Earle of Northumberland.

like a double Stable, 60. Horses on one side, and as many on the other. Answerable to this are the 3. other Squares euery way in Length, height, and breadth ; One whereof was onely built for a stately Riding House for the great Horse to ride in in all Weathers and Seasons whatsoever . The other for Hay and Oates, and all other Prouisions for the Stable.

There are likewise very conuenient and handsome Roomes and Lodgings for the Gentleman of the Horse, the Groomes, Coachmen, Riders, Postillions, making a pretty quarter of Cavalry : heere/is fo. 36r. likewise a fayre large Armory both for Horse and Foote : and the windowes of this Building are very fayre and high, with some smaller ones aboue them, made like his Lordships Coat, the Crescent, halfe Moone wise, which is an additionall grace and ornament to this braue compacted Building

From hence I march'd along towards the cheife Mansion vpon one of those 2. Files of Walkes which are hewen and made out of the Rocke, of 600. foote in Length (ascending each other in the middst, of the same Stone) to the Wildernes ; wherein are 2. walkes both alike in length, and being 400. of my Paces, which are ouershadow'd with Sycamore Trees, and guarded with 100. Rankes and Files of pleasant, young, flourishing, growing Plants, and all planted in a comely and orderly decorum.

Then went I into a neat and delightfull Bowling Greene, which is 60. Paces long and 40. Broad, wherein there were a Company of his Lordships owne Gentlemen taking their recreations, which seemed to me to bee more like a publicke concourse or generall meeting of Gentlemen, then a priuate domesticke Family-Retinue. Close to this are the pleasant, sweet, and delightfull Gardens.

If I should carry you into 3. braue and goodly wooded Parkes which ioyne togeather, 7. or 8. mile long, wherein may you view stately and gallant Herds of Deere ; and a whole dozen of delightfull and commodious Fish-Ponds, which are not far of the Stables, and all as well stor'd with dainty Fish as the Parkes are with good Flesh.

By this time we were a thirst, and so march'd into the long and stately archt Celler, no lesse the (*sic*) 56. yardes long, wherein I beheld 2. such Rankes of Hogsheads, as before I did of Horses, 60. on a side, both fitt for a Court ; Ouer which all that length runs a curious stately Building, in which is the Fayre Gallery, beautify'd and adorn'd with many rare and curious Pictures : The spacious Dyning Roome, Lodging Chambers, withdrawing Roomes,

and others, all most richly furnish'd and hung with braue Hangings : And alsoe a faire and stately Library, compleatly stor'd and fill'd with choice Bookes and other Stuffe.

The Chappell is neat and handsome, and the windowes thereof beautifull ; in which are handsomely painted and blazon'd the Armes and Atchieument of that noble Family and their seuerall Matches.

The Hall and the Kitchin are spacious and the Pastries, Lardors and other conuenient Offices Houses euery way answerable ; and in the cheife Lardor you may Angle, and (if you sweare not) it's ten to one but you may catch dainty liuing Fish.

The Parlour (the place where the Earle and his Countesse vsually dine and Sup in great State) is very richly furnish'd ; The Attendance, Retinue and all the Officers of the Houshold, that belong to this great Peere (as I heard) are neere 8. Score in the Check Roll ; which is a pretty Company to be quarter'd in one Mansion, and most of them Gentlemen, gentile, sociable, and curteous, the which I had plentifull experience off, and fully found during the time of my stay a night and a day among them.

fo. 361b.

(It's time to part now, and soe I did, (although there was little need) with a Cup of Sacke at the George, where I left my louing and curteous Friends, and mounted back againe for Chichester ouer the Riuer Arun, vp the Downes againe, and so by a fayre House and Parke of a worthy Knights,¹ at Burton, where I spent an houre at his Iron Mills, in beholding those hot swarthy Vulcans, sweating, puffing, hammering and drawing out those rusty Sowes into Barrs, by rumbling, noysing, Bedlam-water-Mills.

From thence I pass'd along by one of those brauely wooded and Hearded Parkes,² I before spoke of at Arundell belonging to that noble Earle ; I was sorry I came thither no sooner, to have performed my humble respects and Seruice to his Lordship and his noble Sonne, my honorable good Lord, as my duty requir'd, who both had beene very lately there, at the death of a fat Bucke.

Away then I hasten to Hamker Windmill, by a knight's place there.³ On the top of this high Hill, I view'd a great way about, both at Sea and Land, the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth, most part of Arundell Rape, and almost as farre as Lewis.

Descending this Hill I hy'd to Chichester againe, and that night lodg'd at the White Horse there ; And from thence the next morning I mounted for Portsmouth, along by the Islands of Man-

¹ St. William Goring.

² Solhurst Parke.

³ St. William Morley.

hood, Selsey, Thorney, and Haling, in the last of which lay that noble Lord and his Son I last spake off but the night before at his owne Farme house there.

About a Mile before I reach'd Hauant, over a little stone Bridge, I entred another Shire¹ (having all this while march'd in one County) and there a little on my right hand I left a braue seat of a Lords² I but lately mention'd. At Hauant I found some of my Lords Gentlemen (whom I lately had been withall att Arundell Castle) quarter'd with the honest gentile Parson of that Towne,³ from whence I could not passe without his Passe, beeing my Lords Chaplain; he did so heartily importune my stay, that I had past the bounds of good Manners to have gone without his free leaue, for all I was soe straitned with time, and had lost a hearty and generous welcome at all hands, both from Himselfe, his louing Wife, and merry Sister, and the curteous sweet Society of these Officers that purposely stay'd for that end after our Lords departure; For wee were feasted neatly, kindly, and bountifully, and with a glasse of good briske wine we merrily and heartily wash'd downe the good fat Venison at this honest Parson's House.

The next morning wee gaue thanks and parted; they backe to Arundell, I on to Portsmouth; and vpon that high Downe,⁴ I breath'd, and tooke fresh ayre both from Sea and Land, especially at Sr. [blank] Nortons Windmill, which commaunds a most gallant prospect euery way round about. There descended I downe for Portsmouth, and so ouer a Bridge, some 2. mile from the Towne in a high way Sea, the Tide sometimes flowing thither, and making it an Island; and as I pass'd by, I espy'd a wofull Spectacle, which was the bones of that vnfortunate Felton, hanging neere by in Chaines for his treacherous fact, in giuing the Duke a fatall stroke.⁵

/I am now got to Portsmouth, and by a toll of the Bell from fo. 362. the watch Tower on the top of the steeple, I was thereupon stopt and examin'd by a Sentinell at the Port, entring this strong Garison Mayor Towne, what I was, and from whence I came? I told him truly as it was, both my qualitie, and that I came from good Companie, good mirth, good cheere, and good Wine: All which would not make a good passe, till I further told my Examiner my designes; and hauing done soe, I told him that I desir'd to be quarter'd in a good Inn for the time I stay'd, which by his good directions I soone obtayn'd.

¹ Hampshire.

² Stanstead, the Lord Lumley's.

³ Mr. Ringstead

⁴ Portsmouth Downe.

⁵ Duke of Buckingham.

So on I went as I was directed to my Inn, which was the red Lion, where my Name was not inroll'd, because I stay'd nott there all night. My Hostesse there was briske, blith and merry, a handsome sprightly Lasse, fit for the company of braue Commaunders; whereof there are good store, both within that Garrison Towne and the Castles there neere adioyning; On my right hand beyond the Docke, 2. Mile from Portsmouth, I left one;¹ And on the other side on my left hand close to the maine Sea I left another.²

As soone as I lighted, I presently went to the Cheife place in this Garison Towne,³ where att that time was the Cheife Gouvernor⁴ thereof and his Deputy, but the generous Commaunder I had my passe to, was not then there; yet that small time I stay'd there, I happen'd to meet with an honest Blade, my Countryman and Acquaintance,⁵ who was as glad to see me as I was to see him there.

Time was precious with me, and hauing none to spare for Complement, therefor after a hearty salute onely enterchang'd we quickly march'd downe togeather with his Lordships Chaplain and Steward, into his Honors Wine-Celler, and there nimbly took off 2. or 3. heartie glasses of excellent choice Wine, which enabled me the better to march the Rounds, and encourag'd me the liuelier to visit the Quarters of their Randeuouz.

As soone as we were mounted the walls (where no stranger is admitted to passe withowt his Guard) The stately Ship, the Swallow, tooke her flight close by vs, with swift wing and full Sayle, and 206. men in her; when she was right against the Fort, she vayl'd her Topsyayle, and discharg'd halfe a dozen great Guns for her parting Salute, The Officers straightway from the Fort requited her with three Peeces of Ordinance for a like parting Volley: at the same time there pass'd another goodly Ship, the Harry, soone after the other, with the like vayling Posture, and receiuing the like farewell Salute from the Fort for her Foy.

The Maine Sea beats vpon the Square Tower, which is close to that Fort, where all the Ammunition is kept, on the top whereof is mounted many goodly Peeces of Ordinance.

After I had march'd the Rounds, quarter'd the Streets, and offer'd vp my deuotions at Godshouse in their faire Chappell

¹ Porchester Castle.

² Southsey Castle; Captain Mason.

³ Godshouse.

⁴ Lord Wimbleton, Gouvernor; Capt Bret, Deputy.

⁵ Serieant Maior Heigham

there, where the braue Commaunders and Garison Soldiers receue Prouision for their Soules ; The King's long store house/or Magazine, fo. 362b. where Prouisions is layd in for their Bodies,

I made haste to a new place then in my sight, which was about 6. or 7. Mile off,¹ but before I parted, I was bound to make my selfe knowne to that generous Serieant Maior I before spoke off ; I found this old merry Blade with some speciall Friends, quarter'd at his owne habitation ; with this good Company I could not stay long, for the Wind and Tide stayes for no man, and my Boatmen call'd earnestly on me to hasten away.

Being thus forc'd away, I then tooke a short leaue of the Maior, and shooke hands with my honest Countryman, and so did commit my selfe to the blustering Winds, and rowling Waues with these my Sea-Pilotts, who were so vnfit for that passage at that time that quickly both they, and I, began to be sicke thereof ; for by that time they had row'd a mile, the Wind did soe rise, and the waues did soe tosse vs, that we made all speed possibly wee could to the shore, which was not amisse, although those churlish, drunken Sotts mutter'd : For what with the tempestuousnesse of the weather, that made the sea so boysterous and swelling . what with the vnrulesse of my Horse ; the smalnesse of the Boat ; and the light-headnesse of my Rowers, it was wisdome to get off that great danger ; And so being soundly drench'd, (with some difficulty) we cast Anchor in the quauering Beech, and Sands, where they left mee beeteene wind, and weather to march 3. or 4. miles a desperate way to Hell-head, whither they could not row me ouer till 10. of the Clocks at night. In the interim, for that I must there spend my time, and endanger my selfe, with a Company of Sharkes, that drunke like Fishes, and then haue them along for my fellow Trauellers : For these reasons I de[c]lin'd going to the Ile of Wight at that time, and to alter my intended course, to goe to Tichfeild, where I rested, and slept soundly, after my tossing, and wet journey.

The next morning, with leaue of their French Parson I entred their Church, where in a Chappell adioyning thereunto, which was built by the old Earle of Southampton, wherein lyes interr'd many of that noble Family.

In the middst of this Chappell, is a very large, high, rich, and faire Tombe, built of Alabaster, which cost a great Sum, the 4. high Pillers that run vp at the Corners are of black Marble ;

¹ Isle of Wight.

the Monument curiously caru'd, and richly gilt ; vpon which doth lye aloft highest, alone in the middst, of it, Lady Jane, Countesse of Southampton, Daughter of William Cheyney of Buckinghamshire Esq., wife to the right Honorable Thomas Wriotesley, Earle of Southampton, Baron of Tichfeild, and Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chancellor of England 1574.

On the right hand of her, at a little descent lower, lieth in his Chancellors Weeds, her foresayd Lord and Husband, who was the Son of William Wriotesley esq. who for his vertues, and deserts, was promoted to the Dignities aforesayd ; and was also a Priuy Counsellor to Henry 8th. and Edward 6th. especially chosen, and intrusted with Henry 8th. Will, and last Testament. Hee had Issue, Henry, afterwards Earle of Southampton, and 4. Daughters ; Elizabeth the eldest, marry'd to Thomas Fitzwater, Earle of Sussex./Mary, marry'd to Mr. Rich ; Katherin marry'd to Mr. Thomas Cornewallis ; and the youngest to [blank].

fo. 363.

On the left hand of her, on the other side, at the same descent, lyeth his forenamed Son, Henry Earle of Southampton, the braue warriour, in his Martiall weeds ; Hee married Mary, the Daughter of Sr. Anthony Browne Viscount Montague ; and had Issue by her, Henry Earl of Southampton ; and Mary, marry'd to Sir Thomas Arundell of Warder Castle in Wiltshire : Obiit 3^o. Eliz. : at his Feet is the Bugle mussled : Thus sayd Son, and Daughter both kneeling on that side vnder him.

On the wall of the same Chappell, lyeth in Alablaster Lady Mary, Daughter of Henry, Earl of Southampton, the now present Lords Sister, who dy'd at 4. yeeres of Age, Angells crowning her with Lawrell wreaths, which is most artificially done : And vnderneath there is a large Vault for the whole Family.

From their sleeping statues, I hasten to view their liuing Mansion ;¹ where (in the absense of the Earle, and his pretty sweet French Countesse) I had at my entrance, a free passage afforded me by a curteous Gentleman, the Master of his Horse : And first (where I found him) in the Stables, which are very fayre, and stately, with handsome conuenient Lodgings for that Gentleman, and the Groomes, and Coachmen.

Thence I pass'd ouer a large, and delightfull Bowling Place iust before the Court Gate, through a fayre 4. square built Court into the Hall ; thence vp wee mounted into the great Chamber, the

¹ Tichfield, the Earle of Southamptons.

Gallery, the Bed-Chamber, and the other Roomes, some very richly hang'd with Arras, some with French workes which his Madamma brought with her out of France : others finely furnish'd, especially the Chamber call'd the Kings, fit indeed for a Prince. The long Gallery is beautify'd, with many neat curious Pictures, of Kings, Queens, Princes, and Noble Persons, both deceas'd, and living. The Chappell is very neat, and handsome ; On the Leaden Towers, ouer the Gatehouse, I had full view of all the fayre, and pleasant Gardens, and delightfull walkes, and of the stately Parkes about his Lordship's House, which is 7. Mile about on one side ; and a smaller one on the other, but a most dainty, pleasant seated one, a small riuer ¹ that runs vp to Hell-head diuiding them.

By this time it was high time to finish my third weekes Trauell, therefore away I hasten by a noble knights House,² and Parke, where there was 3. or 4. Earles, leauing not farre on my right another right noble generous knights Seat,³ where his Majestie very lately, was Royally entertayn'd, and through some part of Beare Forest, by the fayre Mansion, and large Parke of the Bishop of that Diocesse,⁴ where his Lordship altogether resides ; And soe ouer the Downes, till I tumbled downe a steepy Hill a whole mile, together, into that old and ancient City of Winchester, which is of the same age with her sister Canterbury, and which was founded by the same Brittish King,⁵ and there tooke vp my thrd Sundays rest at the [blank] in their high, and principall Street there, which runs/ from East to Westgate, where I had as much adoe to fo. 363b. obtaine fayre Quarter, as I had in all my trauell : for this old City was then crowding full, in respect of that great, and long vnsett, sitting Court ⁶ was then held there, where all the Cheife of this faire, and goodly County were.

I found her Scytuated in a rich valley, inuiron'd round with great Hills, a sweet, and pleasant Riuer, gliding in, by, and through her, encompass'd with a wall neere 2. Mile about, and a Ditch without it, with 6. Gates for entrance ; In the lowest part of her Eastward (almost through euery Street) runs a pleasant Riuer or small Streame. Some part of the ground within her is vnbuilt, especially on the North, and West sides, which is conuerted into Orchards, and Gardens, and little Pastures : there is also the Ruines of 2. famous Monasteries in her,⁷ which are lamentable to behold.

¹ Hamble.² Sr Wm. Vdall.³ Sr. Richard Tichburne.⁴ Waltham, the Bishops.⁵ King Rudhudibras⁶ The Court of Eyre.⁷ Hide and St. Maries.

The Gouernment of this City is by a Mayor with his 4. Maces, and 12. Aldermen, who sit to distribute Justice at a Hall, which sometimes was an Hospitall: She hath but one Captain, and his Company but a small one.

The City, and her Suburbs doe equally challenge their Shares of her Churches, 7. being without the Walls, with the Colledge, and that ouer Kings Gate; and 7 within the Walls, with their braue, old, Mother Cathedrall,¹ which I found faire, and long, being 200. of my Paces, the longest I dare say, except plaine old Paules, that I yett met with in England, although I but lately came from a large, and faire one (Canterbury) and St. George on horsebacke on the top of her flat bottom'd Steeple, to be Sentinell and giue notice of her Gouernors prerogative Prelacy of that high noble Order in the Court: her Quire vp to the high Altar is equall with that, being 60. Paces long, the Roofe whereof is stately, fayre, and rich, to adorne which, and to beautifie the same, a great Summe of Money hath beene very lately bestow'd, with the Armes of the King, and Queen, and of many of the Nobility, richly gilded.

And as aboue on the Roofe, so ouer the Deanes, Prebends and Quiristers Seats, is rich Joyners worke; but more remarkable, artificiall, and rare Postures, rauishing the eyes of the beholders, is a liuely, wooddy Representation, Portraits, and Images, from the Creation, to the Passion, which though it tooke me some time to take, yet I thought it neuerthelesse, not idly, ill spent time, for me to decipher the same, as I found it, and heere to insert itt.

Of the Old Testament on one Side.

1. A Representation of the Deity, in 3. Persons.
2. The Angells fall, and description of Hell.
3. The Manner of the Creation, and the Chaos.
4. The Creation of Man.
5. The Creation of Woman.
6. The Temptation, fall and Punishment.
7. The first Sacrifices of Cain and Abell.

¹ The Cathedrall Bishop Curle; Dr Young, Deane, and Prebend of Wells and Parson of Rumsey. 500 h per Annum, a Scot; Dr. Mason, Chancellor; Dr. Duncomb, Subdeane; Dr Keyser; Dr. Alexander; Dr. Andrews; Dr. Goad; Dr. Lane, Dr Harvie, Warden of the Colledge; Dr. Medkirke; Dr. Jackson; Dr. Lewis, Master of St. Crosses Hospitall; Dr. Burby, Archdeacon; These 12. Prebends; 6. Petty Cannons; 23. Singing Men; 8 Singing Boyes

- /8. Cain killing his Brother Abell. fo. 364.
 9. Noah warn'd by God to build an Arke.
 10. The Arke is built, and the Creatures preseru'd.
 11. Noah is drunke, and his 3. Sons describ'd.
 12. God calls to Abraham to offer Isaac.
 13. Hee goes with his Son, his 3. Seruants, fyre, and Isaac riding on an Asse.
 14. Hee is offer'd, and redeem'd by a Ram.
 15. Rebeccas counsell to Jacob to get the blessing, and Isaac blessing Jacob, instead of Esau.
 16. Joseph stript by his Brethren, and sold into Ægipt.
 17. Jacob blesseth his 12. Sonnes.
 18. God appearing vnto Moses in the flaming Bush, he putting of his Shoes.
 19. God deliuering the Law to Moses.
 20. Moses prophesying of Christ.
 21. Josuah fighting the Lords Battell, the Angell assisting him.
 22. The description of the Tower of Babell, 3. Forms.
 23. Sampson tearing the Lions Jawes.
 24. Dauid killing Goliah.
 25. Dauid anointed King ouer Israell by Samuell.
 26. Dauid on his death bed appoints Salomon Heyre; his wife Bathsheba, and Nathan the Prophet by him.
 27. Salomon riding on a Mule to be crown'd; with the Nobles of the Land.
 28. His Coronation.
 29. His Throne describ'd.
 30. Ezekiah on his death bed, hath 15. yeeres added.
 1 32. Eliah is carry'd vp to Heauen, in a fyrie Chariot; Elisha taketh his Mantle.
 33. Daniell in the Den with 6. Lions.
 34. The 3. Children in the Furnace, a 4th among them, the Son of God.
 35. The Angell appearing to Zachary in the Temple.
 Of the New Testament on the other Side.
 1. The Salutation of the Angell to Mary.
 2. Conceiu'd with Child by the Holy Ghost.
 3. Joseph (*sic*) stricken dumbe in his Chaire.
 4. The Virgin Mary deliuer'd of a Child, layes it in the Manger, and the Oxe breathing on it.

¹ No. 31 omitted.

46 DESCRIPTION OF A JOURNEY

5. The Angell brings tidings to the Shepherds in the Field.
6. The 3. kings withe their Guifts.
7. The Angell warneth them to goe another way.
8. Old Simeon huggs the Child in his Armes, and 2. Women offering to him.
9. Herod the King sitting in his Chaire.
- fo. 364b. /10. The young Children slaine, Mothers weeping.
11. Joseph lying on his Bed.
12. The Angell warnes him to goe into Ægipt
13. Joseph leads the Asse, and Mary with the Babe in her Armes on itt.
14. John preaching in the Wildernes to the People, the Fowles, and Beasts listning to him.
15. John baptiseth Christ in Jordan.
16. Christ tempted by the Deuill at 3. places in the Wildernes.
17. Lazarus rays'd from death his 2. sisters Weeping.
18. Christ riding into Jerusalem on an Asse, the People crying Hosanna.
19. Christ sitting at Supper with his 12. Disciples, Judas kneeling gives him the Sop.
20. Christ washing Peters Feet.
21. Going to pray he was taken by the Jewes.
22. Peter denies him, the Cocke crowes.
23. Apprehended by the Jewes, brought to the Piller, ty'd to itt, scourg'd, and whipt, with Rods.
24. The Crosse whereon he was crucify'd, the Crowne of Thornes platted on his head, with the 2. Theeves on either side.
25. The Sepulcher, the Angell on it, Mary, Martha, and her other Sister, comes to embalme.
26. Christs Ascension, 2. Angells appeare in white Garments, answering those that stood gazing.

The Organs in this Church are not exceeding faire nor rich, but sweet and tunable, and sweetly playd on, by one of the rarest Organists¹ that this Land affoord, who is now of His Maiesties Chappell, the Quiristers were skilfull, and the voices good, where they sing sweet and heauenly Anthems.

Her Monuments are many, fayre, and ancient especially 10. in little woodden gilt Coffers, are wrapt, and shrin'd in Lead, the bones of 4. Saxon Kings, 2. Danish Kings, and 4. Bishops, and a Queen; which were taken vp, and preseru'd by Bishop

¹ Mr. Holmes.

Fox, when he built vp that part of the Quire where they were interr'd: They are equally plac'd and fix'd betweene the Quire, and the High Altar, on the top of the wall, 5. on one hand and 5. on the other, viz^t. King Canutus, and his Son Hardicanute both in one, and 4. more Saxon Kings, Egbert, Elfred, Adulphus, and Gilsus, with their Crownes on the top of those Boxes.

On the North side is Queen Emma, and her Sonne, and 4. Saxon Bishops, with the Miters thereon.

The plaine Marble Tombe of William Rufus, in the fashion of a Coffin.

South against the High Altar, and St. Swithins Shrine, in a neat wrought Chappell, with French Cane stone, artificially cut and caru'd, lyeth the formention'd Bishop Fox. Vnder that is his Anotomy in a grate; He was Founder of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, his curious neat Closet by it, wherein is artfully cut, and richly gilt, the Churches Armes, the Crosse Keyes, with the sword, ioyn'd with his owne, the Pellican fo. 365. picking her breast. Also the Club, Sword, Darke Lanthorne and hand, the Post, Scourge, and Whip, the Speare, Spunge and Buckett, the side and hands streaming Blood, the 3. Nailles, Cords, &c: the three Dice, with Angells betweene euery one of them. The Seeling is very rich, with the Armes of King Henry 7th. his owne, and the Colledges, and the Churches alone, very finely gilt.

Ouer against this, on the North side of the High Altar, and St. Swithins Shrine, is another neat built Chappell, call'd Bishop Gardiners, answerable, and in imitation of this, though not so rich, nor so artificially wrought, but of the same moddell and height, vnder which lyes his Anotomy, as in this.

Betweene these 2. and the Lady Chappell more East, are 2. other stately Monuments of an equall height, right against each other. Th' one Cardinall Beauforts Marble Tombe, the top and Roofe of Cane stone, and artificially wrought; he lyeth within, in Brasse, his Statue vpon itt in wood; This Cardinall Bishop was the Founder of that stately Hospitall thereby, call'd St. Crosse's.

The other is Bishop Wainfleete with 4. Columne Pillers of Marble, most artificially cutt, and wrought of Cane stone as Bishop Fox's is.

Close by lyeth King Lucius, the first Christian King of England,

vnder a plaine Marble stone, like a Coffin with 7. Pummells of Brasse like a Crosse.

The faire Grauestone of Pryor Westgate thereby.

In the Lady Chappell is Pryor Silkstead, and Pryor Hunton, vnder 2. faire Marble Grauestones, of 3. yard long. These 2. founded this Chappell, as appeareth by the Badges they gave it, the gilded Tun and Steed all ouer the Roofe, pretty Conceits that Priors and Officers then vsed.

In this Chappell are 3. fayre Windowes, one at the East end thereof, in which is painted the Genealogie from the Root of Jesse, 14. Generations, another on the North side, contayning the History of the Reuelation, with the Saints praying, and glorifying God. In the South window which is the third, is the History of the Natiuity of our Sauour. In this same Chappell is placed the Purple Veluet Chayre, wherein (if you will beleue Mr. Verger) Queen Mary did sit, when she was marry'd to King Philip in his standing Posture.

In a little Chappell on the North of the Lady Chappell in a vault is interr'd, Sr. Richard Weston Earle of Portland, and Lord Treasurer, so lately, as no Monument is yet made for him.

Neere vnto this on the wall is Sr. Thomas Mason, a Priuy Counsellor.

South of the Quire, close to the wall, vnder a faire Marble stone lyeth Duke of Richmond.

In the North Crosse Ile, against the Quire lieth a Templer, Knight of the Rhodes in a crosse Legg'd Posture, a Coat of Maile, Cap a Pee, with his sword drawne, his Coat of Armes, 6. wheat sheaves Argent, 3. Bulls Gules/with Bells about their neckes : And by this warlike Knight is Domesday vault, where the Euidence of this Kingdome was kept of old.

In the Church lyeth that great Fauourer and liberall Mayntainer of Schollers Bishop Wickham, his Statue cut in Alabaster, in his Pontificall Robes, with 3. Schollers at his feet, and is a curious decent Tombe : he vaulted the Roofe of this spacious Church, and inlarg'd the Pillers, which are very fayre, and large ; hee was Founder of that stately Colledge there ; Of Newe Colledge in Oxford, and of a free schoole in Paris.

There goes a Story of this Bishop ; that he beg'd [blank] of the King, which whosoeuer obtaines, is Bishop of the Diocesse which was (as it seem'd) more than the King knew when he granted it. Whereupon the King was displeas'd, and the Bishop displac'd, and with the helpe of some backe Friends at Court, he was banish'd,

and went to Paris : After the angry frowne of his displeas'd Prince was stopt by Death, this good old Bishop came ouer again and did those famous deeds, and was euer a great Louer and liberall rewarder of Learning and Schollers.

On the North Ile of the Church, is the Monument of 2. Brothers of the Surname Clarke, wherewith I was so taken, as take them I must, and as I found them, I pray accept them.

Thus an Vnion of 2. Brothers from Auington the Clarks Family, were Grandfather, Father, and Son successiuelie Clerkes of the Priuy Seale in Court.

The Grandfathers had but 2. sons, both Thomas.

Their wiues both Amy's.

Their Heyres both Henry.

And the Heyres of Henries, both Thomas.

Both their wiues were Inheretrix's.

And both had 2. Sons and one Daughter.

And both their Daughters Issulesse

Both of Oxford : Both of the Temple.

Both Officers to Queen Elizabeth, and our noble King James.

And both Iustices of the Peace.

Together both agree in Armes. One a Knight, the other a Captaine. *Si quæras plura*, Both—And so I leave them.

Neere this Monument, which I have set forth at large, is a neat one for the son and Heyre of Sir George Paulet.

On the South of the crosse Ile, lyes an old Bishop in Marble, Founder of the Organs ; And by him, which was the last I saw, was the Monument of the last Pryor, and First Deane heere, his Name, Basing.

After I had taken a full view of the Monuments I was conducted into the Vestry, where I saw many rich Hangings, and Cloths. One of Veluet wrought with Gold for the High Altar, which was giuen by Bishop Fox. Others of Cloth of Tissue and faire Cushions, which were giuen by Sr. John Paulet. Another of Cloth of Gold, fill'd with Pearle wire. A rich, and faire Canopie of Cloth/of Gold fo. 366. to carry ouer the King, 12. faire Cushions of red and blew Velvet with Lions and flower de Luce's in them wrought in Gold.

From thence I walk'd out at the Kings Gate, on the South of this Cathedrall to the Colledge,¹ founded by that worthy good Bishop, whom I so lately left sleeping in his neat Chappell in the Church, watch'd by 3. vigilant Schollers. Heere I saw a spacious

¹ Winchester Colledge.

and lofty, neat Chappell, a graue Doctor, Warden of the Colledge,¹ 12. Fellowes, 70. Schollers and 16. Quiristers, all in their Collegiate Surplice Habit at their deuotions, reading, and singing as solemnly, as at the Cathedrall, and as fayre, and as rich an Organ.

After which ended, I went into their strong Freestone Library² standing alone by it Selfe, in their green yard Cloyster, where I met with a curteous, free Gentleman one of the Fellowes,³ who gaue me a very hearty welcome, both there att that same time, and afterwards att his own House.

From thence I march'd into the Pallace,⁴ adioyning neere to the Colledge, the way, and the City Wall onely, diuiding them, where I was showne many huge, and spacious Roomes, viz^t. the Hall, Great Chamber, Galleries, Lodging Chambers, Chappell, and Towers, all as voyd of Furniture as Entertainment. Some Cost extraordinary (*sic*) hath beene but lately bestowed, about some Roomes there, to make them for his Maesties reception, whose comming thither was lately expected.

This Place is sweetly, and commodiously seated, by the Riuer which supplies euery Office, and Roome of the House, which stands in need thereof; And such a benefitt doth the Colledge also reap by this delicate sweet Sreame (*sic*).

By the pleasant Banke whereof, let me carry you butt one Mile from hence, and there shall you see that famous Hospitall⁵ founded by that Cardinall, we so lately left, strongly infolded in Brasse; There I found a reuerend Diuine Master thereof,⁶ who is also Master of a great Reuenue thereby, and these particulars he by his place is inioyn'd, besides the dayly maintenance of 10. old Men, 4. dayes in a weeke, Sondayes, Tuesday, Thursday, and Fryday. There is also 40. poore Men, and Women, that are Weekely maintayn'd throughout the whole yeere, hauing a House without the great high Towr'd Gate, on purpose for them: And 6. times in a yeere, there is a Dole in bread giuen to 600. poore People, euery one of them a Loafe, euery Dole taking vp a Quarter of wheat, at least; The rest that comes those Dole dayes (exceeding that number) passe not away without an Almes, which is a halfe Penny in Money; And what Person, or Stranger, of what degree or quality soeuer, that shall happen to come on those dayes, and times to visit that stately Hospitall, must also kindly accept, and imbrace this most charitable Mite of the Donors free Donation.

¹ Dr. Harris.

² The Library.

³ Mr. Wills.

⁴ Cardinall Wolsey's.

⁵ St. Crosse's Hospitall.

⁶ Dr. Lewes.

Heere is a large fayre Square Court, with very handsome, and faire Buildings in euery Square, and a Cathedrall like Church, more like a Colledge, then an Hospitall, and the Riuer giuing ample benefitt, and pleasure to this stately Building; this Place I found as courteous, and respectiue to Strangers as the Colledge, where such Inhabitants resides, as knowes nothing more then that commendable quality of Curtesie.

/Returning to the City againe, I there found at the west end ^{fo 366b.} of it, vpon a high mounted Hill, a strong and spacious Castle, which is very ancient, yet not much recinated; for of late yeeres it hath bene much repayr'd, and beautify'd, by the late Lord Treasurer of England.¹

This Castle is built 4. square, with 4. great Towers at the Corners, 2. of them are round, and 2. square. The Hall, Kitchin, Guard Chamber, Priuy Chamber, the Kings Bed Chamber, and many other faire Chambers for the noble Officers, and Court Traine, all made very compleat and handsome at that Earles great Cost; So many Stayers, or Ascents, as are vp to the Hall, from the first entrance of the ascending Bridge; So many are there downe again vnder the Castle into deep Vaults and Cellers, where the keepers may securely quarter themselues, if any occasion bee.

From hence I march'd downe again to see what manner of Hall, and Table, that braue and warlike worthy Brittish Prince² kept aboue 1000. yeeres since, which are both fit for so royall a Prince; what the one exceeded in Longitude, the other did in Rotundity: For I found the Hall 50. Paces long and very broad, with 2. Rowes of goodly Marble Pillers: For the other, his Table as they call it, with his whole Jury of courageous warlike knights round about it, shew'd no end of his bounty.

And now I am heere (although it bee a little digressing and retarding of my Journey, yet) I could not part from the stately Hall, vntill I had both seene, and heard the noble Proceedings, of soe high and honorable a Court, as did then sit there, which I could not omit without some (cursory) Obseruation and notice off.

The noble Earle of Holland Cheife Justice in Eyre of all his Maiesties Forests, Chases, and Parkes, on this side Trent, with the Assistance of 2. Judges, the Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Cheife Justice of Chester.³

On Monday morning His Lordship came from Sr. William Vdalls

¹ Richard Weston, Earl of Portland

² King Arthur.

³ The Lord Finch, Sr John Bridgman.

House accompani'd with the Earl of Southampton (who was deeply interested in this great Busines) with diuerse Knights, and Gentlemen of the Shire, and the High Sheriff thereof, and his Attendants, making in all about 200. Horse, and 10 Coaches. The Mayor with his Brethren in Scarlet, receiued his Lordship at the East Gate on the same morning it being St. Bartholomew's day, the Saint (though not their owne, St. Swithin) entertaining him with weeping teares, which soundly wash'd the Scarlet weeds of their graue Worships. Then after a small time of repose at Captain Tuckers house, not far from that Gate where his Lordship lay, by the said 2. Judges in their Scarlet, Mr. Mayor, and his Aldermen in theirs; Mr. High Sheriff, with all his Retinue in theirs (*sic*) Colours; some 12. of the Kings Guard with their Royall Badges; The Kings Trumpeters, and the High Sheriffs, was he guarded and attended in this maiestick manner to the great Hall, where they sat in Royall State, most of the Knights, Esquires, and cheife Gentlemen of the Country bearing Offices in New Forrest, Wulmer Forrest, and Chale Forrest, attending at this great and high Court.

Heere was exceeding great Crowding of People, to see and heare, soe that there was but a little roome for Strangers, as I was; yet obtain'd I that fauor from one of the Guard, as to get a conuenient one, not onely to see the great State of the Court, and the order of their sitting therein, but also to heare the Honourable Proceeding thereof, the which in breife, as well as my Memorie gaue me assistance, by wey of Parenthesis take thus:

fo. 367.

First an O yes, was made, and Silence Commaunded vntill the Commission and Letters Pattents were read.

Then a Letter was read, which came from his Maiestie to those 2. Judges, to be present, to aduise, and assist.

An O yes, if any would be Essoyn'd, &c.

An O yes, Commaunding all Brewers, Bakers, Victuallers, Inn-keepers, &c. not to enhance the Prices of the Commodities, but to keep the Assize during this Sitting.

An O yes, and the High Sheriff call'd to returne his Precept which he did on his knee.

An O yes, commaunding all Officers, to deliuer in all Indictments &c. taken sittce (*sic*) the last Sitting, which they all did vpon their knees.

An O yes, and all High Stewards call'd, yeilding up their Rods, &c. on their knees.

An O yes, for the Warden to returne his Precept.

An O yes, and all the Cheife Officers, of all the 3. Forrests, called to appeare Personally. First

Henry, Earle of Southampton	}	Presented vp his Bugle
Lord Warden of New Forrest,		
He onely couer'd on the Bench.		Horne to the Earl of Holland.

Sr. William Vdall, Lieutennant.

Mr. Kempe, Bow-bearer.

Mr. Cuthbert Bacon Forrest Rider.	}	Yeilded vp their Bugle
Mr. Knapton, and Mr. Browne,		
Rangers.		Hornes to his Lordship on their knees.

The Earle of Montgomeries Deputy.

Sr. Thomas Penruddocke.

Sr. John Jephson.

Sr. Richard Vdall.

Mr. Hartstrong, Mr. Gifford and Mr.	}	Head Officers in the New Forrest yeilded vp all their Bugle Hornes, in the same Posture.
Knight.		

Wulmer Forrest

Robert Bennet Esqr. Lieutennant.

Mr. Feild, Mr. Hobson, Mr. Fish, Mr.	}	Deliuier'd vp all their
Knight, and Mr. Adams, Forresters		
there.		Hornes soe.

Sr. John Lee, late warden.

Robert Tirret Esq. Warden.

William Earle of Banbury.

Sr. Robert Ramsey.

Henry Ramsey Esq. ; and diuerse	}	Appear'd.
others of all the 3. Forrests.		

Then an Oyes, and all Regarders call'd, 12 of euery of the Forrests.

An O yes, and all Verderors call'd, 2. a peece.

Then the Wood Reeues of the seuerall Forrests, deliuier'd vp their Marking Axes, on their knees.

An O yes, and all the Freemen of the Reeues call'd.

/Then the Registers, Beadles, and all Vnder Forresters, and fo. 367b.
Officers call'd, taking their Oaths for seuerall Places.

An O yes, and all Freeholders of the Forrest, as well Archbishops, Earles, Bishops, Viscounts, Lord Barons, Knights &c. were call'd to giue their Attendance, at this high Court : Some of the great men appear'd by their Deputies, and many Knights, and Gentlemen in their proper Persons.

An Oyes, and the Great Enquest call'd, and sworne.

All which Busines tooke vp Monday and Tuesday Forenoone and some part of the Afternoone, before the Earle of Holland had time to make a pithy, and short preparatiue to the Charge that was to be deliuer'd by the Lord Cheife Justice Finch; in which his Lordship intimated, that since his Maiestie had honour'd, and intrusted him with this great Seruice, his great, and speciall care should not bee wanting therein, to doe his Maiestie all due, and rightfull Seruice, and the Subiect no wrong; and how glad hee was to see so full an appearance of such noble Gentlemen, which did euidently manifest their Loue, and Obedience to their Soueraigne, which he heartily thank'd them for; and ingag'd his Honor to them, that his Maiestie should soone know it: For heere were 3. great Enquests of Knights and Gentlemen empanell'd and sworne, viz^t. Sr. John Mills, Bart., Sr. Daniell Norton, Sr. Thomas Jeruis, Sr. Francis D'Ews, 15. of euery Jury of Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen: His Lordship told them he would leaue his Charge to be deliuer'd to them by one of his Assistants, who was better read in the Forrests Lawes and Priuiledges then he was, the Lord Cheife Justice, wherewith his Lordship concluded, and the Lord Finch humbly and thankfully embrac'd it, and eloquently and learnedly deliuer'd it.

First, he began with the Antiquity of the Lawes of this Kingdome, and that they were before the Normans came hither, for said hee, William the Conqueror was sworne to obserue the Lawes of King Edward the Confessor.

That the Common Law we haue was in the Danes time, neither did the Romans differ, or alter them from vs; so he prou'd itt.

That the Brittons were the first Founders and Makers of our Lawes, which may goe for currant, before any other Nationall Law in the World.

That the Forest Law is sister to the Common Law.

Hee shew'd how it preserues the Health and Life of our Soueraigne by Sports and Recreations, after those serious, arduous and important Affaires that Kings and Princes haue: for he that prouides and takes care for our Recreations, we haue great cause and iust reason to bee singularly carefull to maintaine his.

Then he shewed, that in King Canutus his time the Forrest Law was then holden to be ancient, which hee proued. And that the same King granted to the Subiect to kill in his owne ground.

That William the Conqueror, and King Henry 1. confirm'd it,

soe as the King might make his Forrest at pleasure, and punish with Life.

That Perambulation and Proclamation might make any mans Land Forrest; Henry 2^d. Richard 1. and King John grants to the Subiect with an enlargement of their Liberties well term'd *Tuta Ferarum Stationa* (sic).

/King Henry 3^d. confirm'd it; And so doth *Magna Charta*. fo. 368.

Then went out Writs to bound, and take out the Circuits of Forrests and Chases, and confirm'd the Charter by Jury, View, and Perambulation, In Edward 1. time the Forrests were perambulated.

Hee shew'd how the Kings and Queens since, were so imploy'd, as they could not soe conueniently tend this weighty Busines.

Hee set forth what was done at this Sitting att Glocester, and how the State of the Forrest in Essex stood very ticklish, and desperate for the Subiect.

Then he shewed and sett forth his Maiesties singular Care for the preservation of this Land, and the Safety of his Subiects by maintayning the Royall Nauy.

And lastly he told the Juries, that Differences may arise by the vncertainty of Meares and Bounds, therefore they must be carefull; first, to set out the Bounds truly; Next, that no wrongs and Incroachments be committed; And Thirdly, that the seuerall Officers execute their Places without Partiality or Coniucy.

That the Articles they were to enquire off, he told them were many and of great consequence, which are to be deliberately weigh'd and scan'd, amongst them therefore they should have them in writing.

By this time his Lordship (as he had good cause) was weary'd, and I (as I had iust reason) with crowding and thrusting, was quite ouertyr'd; and his Lordship ending there, makes my worke end heere, and close with my long Parenthesis, no further to weary and racke your Patience, and heere I could well haue spent my whole weekes trauell, if I could haue made this another City, but the period of this weeke was by me design'd for a 4th. City, So I left many of the Keepers and the Country Planters, poore dejected Delinquents mourning with the Planets, and the merry Citizens laughing with the Time.

Hence away then I hastned, to one of the neatest and compleatest Townes in all these Western Parts,¹ into which I had

¹ Southampton Towne

entred at the North Gate thereof with no little feare, betweene the Jaws of 2. ramping Lions, and two thundring warriors, Exipat, that fearefull Gyant on the one side, and braue Beuis of Southampton on the other, if aboue them had not beene plac'd our late renowned, vertuous Queen Elizabeth to daunt their Courage and quell their Fury, and to suffer peaceable Passengers to haue quiet and safe entrance.

I found this neat Towne prouidently gouern'd by a Mayor a discreet Man, with 4. Maces, 12. gentile Aldermen and 2. Sheriffs; It is very strongly wall'd about, and hath therein 7. Gates, and thereon many Towers, especially one, strong and spacious, called Godstower standing close to the Hauen, wherein are many Peeces of Ordinance, Brasse, and other.

There belongs to her 2. fayre Key's for Ships arriuage; The one is South the Passage to the Island; The other where the ships are built, and lye at Anchor in a safe Harbour.

Not far from the last key, on a high mounted Hill, stands an old ruinated Castle,¹ inuiron'd with a round strong Wall, which florished when King John lay there: where I tooke a full view of all her pretty, well compacted Streets, and Buildings; but one street especially, transcends any other Towne Street in England, that runs/right on neere a quarter of a Mile, through the middst of her, from North to South Gate, which Buildings both within and without, I meane the Fabrickes, and Inhabitants, are fayre, neat, beautifull, streight and handsome, which by matching and Trucking with her fostering Neighbour Islands,² hath brought them to this Perfection.

Also vpon the Castle, I had a full sight of all that faire, and goodlie Streame and hauen, that comes from her next neighbouring Island, and the last Garison Towne I left; and of all her defensible Castles that guard those braue shores.³ And neerer to the Towne, I saw a neat strong Castle and faire Mansion House of a right Noble Lords, which is close by the sayd Hauen.⁴

On the East side of the Towne, there runs one faire Streame downe to Winchester; ⁵ And on the West side is another Streame ⁶ as faire as the other, which runs downe to Rumsey.

In her are 7. Churches, one whereof is allotted to the French Congregation, consisting in number of 6. or 7. Score persons:

¹ The Castle.

² Jersey and Gernsey.

³ Cowes, Cashoke, Castles. St. Andrews Castle, Captain Smith.

⁴ Netley Castle, The Earl of Hartfords.

⁵ Alre.

⁶ Test.

without the walls Eastward, is a Chappell, which formerly was their cheife Church, which although it hath lost her precedent Dignity, yet still itt retaines a pretty Annuall Reuenue, which is no lesse than 600. li. per Annum, the which a Lord ¹ gott by Lease and enioyed for some time, and now a Knight ² holds the same for yeeres : A faire House is built neere thereunto, with the Runes of that fayre Church, wherein the Inhabitants (as Report goes) cannot rest quiet a Nights : The razing downe of Churches, to reare vp Mansions with that Stuffe (say they) is not right : heerevpon I heard many pretty odd Tales, which I have neither Time nor list to insert : Betweene that and the Towne walls, are many pleasant Gardens, Orchards, Cherry Grounds, and Walkes, and a fine bowling Ground, where many Gentlemen, with the gentile Marchants of this Towne take their Recreations.

From this rich Marchant and sweet Maritime Towne, I cross'd ouer that broad Streame to Heath, which is almost a League with a blustring Passage, and soe by a knight's place, leauing Cashoke Castle, running with a nooke a mile into the Sea, and soe leauing Leepe on my left, I there with much adoe leapt my Nag into the Boat, and got passage to crosse ouer that 3. miles rough and vntoward Channel to Garnord, and there set footing (where before I was soe putt off) in that strong, healthfull, and pleasant Island of Europe ³ and hastned through a little Forrest to the cheife Towne ⁴ thereof, and to the cheife Inn in the Towne, where one of the Captains of the Island, with some merry Londoners, kept his Quarter that night and kept me Sentinell, for rest I could not take, more then they must vpon their resting Posture.

The next Morning I marcht a short Mile from this Towne to a spacious, strong, and defensible Castle, ⁵ which was built by a Saxon but hath now a young Lord to her Gouvernor ; It is mounted on a hill, with long deepe Ditches round about the walls, whereinto I was suddenly admitted by a braue old Blade (the residing Deputy Gouvernor thereof)] ouer a stately large Bridge, through a stronglie-built Gatehouse, the Deputies Lodgings, and within, thus I found it.

In that Corner next Newport, on a mounted hill stands a round strong Tower called the Keepe to which I ascended by 60. Stayres,

¹ The Lord Lambert.

² Sr. Garret Fleetwood.

³ Isle of Wight.

⁴ Newport

⁵ Carisbrooke Castle, The Lord Weston, Son to the Earle of Portland, Lord Treasurer.

fo. 369.

wherein hath beene watching and Lodging Roomes : nothing therein now/but the walls and deepe well of water in the middst thereof.

As I march'd with my old keeper the Rounds vpon the walls, I view'd the large Chambers, and Lodgings ; the Platformes, Counter-Scarffs, Casemates, Bulwarkes, and Trenches, without the walls, whereupon were mounted many Peeces of Ordinance ; I found itt well guarded with Armes, though not with Men ; for in the Armory which is ouer against the Chappell, in one Roome were 500. good Corselettes ; And in another Roome by the other 7. or 800. Muskets.

By this time I was prettily well inform'd of the strength of this Castle, and her warlike Munition , and so I hastned backe againe to the Randeououz, where I left that mad Captain, and in the same place I found him, fully resolu'd by laying in good store of Prouision in his Camp, to have laine Leaguer there, if his nimble spirited wife had not come and taken vp the Bucklers, and fetch'd him home, for his Leading Staffe fayl'd him.

I found this Towne govern'd by a Mayor and 12. Aldermen and 2. Captaines ; and but one Church, wherein is a fayre Monument for a Knight, who had been Gouvernor of the Island.

This fertile and pleasant Island, for her Martiall Discipline, I found her most brauely and prouidently provided, by the gouernment of 2. Generous Knights, Lieutenants and 14. gentile and expert Captaines, most of them all worthy knights, and Gentlemen, hauing pleasant Scytuations in this Isle, hauing vnder their Commaund 2000. Foote Soldiers, of ready exercis'd, and well disciplin'd, trayn'd men, most of them as expert in handling their Armes, as our Artillery Nurseries, which skill they attaine to by taking pleasure in that honorable Exercise and trayning, and drilling from their very Infancies. Euery Capatain (*sic*) hath his proper Feild Peece, which marches and guards him into the Feild, where they all often meet togeather, and pitch an equall Battell, of 1000. on each side with an equall distribution of the Captaines, 8. of each Party, with the 2. Lieutenants, who are also Captaines ; the East against the West Mead, on St. Georges Downes, by the Riuer that runs downe to Cowes Castle ; A braue show there is, and good Seruice perform'd, by thundring Eccho's from those volleys by that sweet streame ; They have besides in this Island Armes for 2000. more, if need should require. A safe Guard for so small an Island of 20. Mile in Longitude and but 10. in Latitude, to be soe securlie furnish'd with.

As this precious Island is well strengthened, and fortify'd inwardly, so is she also well guarded and defended outwardly, by Yarmouth Castle, Cowes Castle, by the Needles, and Sandom Fort,¹ having no place of Inuasion, either In, or Outletts, but such places as are safely defended. At Yermouth against Hurst Castle; Garnord against Leep, Cowes against Cashoke Castle;² and Ride against Portsmouth so as no daring approaching Enemies can passe those Channells, without thundring Gun-shot from those commanding Castles.

I could willingly haue spent some longer time in such a stately, safe, hedg'd in Paradiſe, but that she tog'd me along by that sweet and delicate Streame, to their new white built Maritime Towne of Cowes; From whence after I had spent a little time/in fo 369b viewing that strong little Castle and her Ordinance, I sayl'd thence with a fine Gale of wind, ouer the still and quiett waues to Southampton back againe, by that spacious and goodly Forrest of his Maiesties³ along the River.

I hastned then to another Towne,⁴ govern'd by a Mayor and there I found a fayre, and Cathedrall like Church, which formerly belonged to the Abbey, which was neere thereunto; It is not lesse then 100. Paces long, with a loftie, and most stately Ile, and in her some handsome Monuments, which I tooke paines to obserue.

In the South Chappell against the High Altar, on the Window is King Edgar, and his Tombe stands close by the High Altar who, with his Daughter (as they say) were the Founders of this faire Fabricke.

A knight of the Rhodes, in his compleat Armour kneeling, on the other window by.

The Monument of M^r. Robert Brickley, of the Isle of Wight.

On the South of the Crosse Ile lieth S^r. Francis Fleming who by a Stratageme in the night, Vanquish'd the Scots at Musselbrough; for which Seruice, he had a Feild Peece for an honorable Addition to his Coat of Armes, the 3. Owles. The fayre House there seated nigh this Towne, continu'd a long time in that Family, now extinguisht quite; and the now Owner thereof, suffers this his Monument most vnkindly to decay.

¹ Yermouth Castle, Captain Burley, Cowes Castle, Captain Turry; Sandom Fort, Captain Bucke

² Hurst Castle, Lieut^t Gorge, Garnord Fort, Captain Barret, Cashocke Castle, Captain James

³ New Forrest

⁴ Rumsey.

In the Chappell North of the High Altar, is the Monument of Sr. Walter Pauncefoot.

To add to the beauty of this Church, and which she worthily deserveth, there was then setting vp a New Organ, giuen by a Old and rich Snudge yet liuing, who got most of his Estate by her, to acknowledge his thankfullnesse this he doth, to blow and trumpett forth his Liberality. One thing I tooke notice off which was remarkable; Vpon the Leads of this Church as I walk'd, I saw a bearing Apple Tree growing on the Leads by the Wall side, and nourish'd onely by the Dewes, and raine-water, and her owne Leaues; Heere I had been tempted to haue committed Sacriledge, but that all her Fruit was pluckt already. After I had tasted a Cup of good Liquor, with honest Mr. Vicar¹ and the Churchwardens, whom I found listning to and tuning the new Organ, I left them, and tooke Horse.

At the end of this Towne, I troop'd ouer a fayre Archt Frestone Bridge, crossing this Riuer² towards Salisbury: And about 3. Mile on the way vpon a Hill close by the Road, where some 3. or 4. Lords quarter their Mannors by a Payre of Gallowes, I entred into a new Shire,³ and within a Mile or 2. of the City, I left on either hand of me 2. most stately Seats. On the Right, his Maiestie's Royall goodly Parke,⁴ of 7. Mile in Compasse; And on my Left, a stately and fayre Towr'd Building⁵ standing most pleasantly on the brow of that Sweet Streame, that runs from this City to Christs Church, and so I clos'd vp my 4th. weekes Trauell at this pleasant, and delightfull sweet situated City of Salisbury.

This City abounds in the happines of enioying the full fruition and plenitude of 2. of the 4. Elements, which are so commodious for Pleasure and Profitt, to wit, Ayre and Water; For the first it is as pleasant, sweet, and healthfull, as the Hart of Man can desire/For the latter, it is as commodious and vsefull as the bounty of Nature, or the Art of Man can make it; for euery street in her, is supplied therewith, by pleasant little Riuoletts, which are knee deepe gliding sweetly through her Bowells, to wash and clense them, in 4. maine streets, East and West, and 4. more North and South, so as thereby are made 16. Checquers in this neat City.

The Mother Riuer, from whence these little Daughter Riuoletts receiue their Springing Nourishment and flowing Vigor, comes

¹ Mr. Barret

² Test.

³ Wiltshire.

⁴ Claringdon Parke.

⁵ Langford, The Lord Gorge's.

from Amesbury, on the South side thereof, gliding along by this City, and ioynes her sweet Current with another pleasant Streame. that comes from Wilton the Shire Towne, and so togeather, each with a pretty swelling, saluting kisse, in token of their louing meeting glides and wantons it along, by that delicate fayre Church, and her sweet Buildings, the Bishops Pallace, the Deans, Prebends, Canons, and other Houses, from thence vnder an Archt stone Bridge of 6. Arches, downe by the Lord Gorges aforesayd Mansion, along the New Forrest to Christ Church abouee (*sic*) sayd, and so into the Sea.

Although the Cathedrall heere was begun by a poore Bishop¹ yet doth his Bounty and Charity manifestly appeare, for it is as magnificent and beautifull a Structure as any Cathedrall in this whole Kingdome ;² And though she cannot Challenge the same Antiquity with her other Sister Cathedralls, yet for the statelinese of her Fabricke both Inwardly, and Outwardly ; her daintie Vniformity throughout ; her fayre, and lofty Spire ; her sumptuous and richly adorn'd Chappells ; her most rare and artificiallie caru'd Chapter-House ; Her stately and costly Monuments ; her numerous and lightsome Windowes ; and faire and goodly Marble Pillers, she may compare with any in this Kingdome. The which I shall set forth as well as I am able ; And first I will begin with her Monuments.

In the entring the Lady Chappell, on the left hand lieth in Marble, the Lord Montacute, Earle of Salisbury, in his Coat of Maile, with the Lion at his Feete.

Next, Sr. William Longspeere Earle of Salisbury, son of King Henry by fayre Rosamond, wrapt in Marble also, and in his martiall Weeds, a Coat of Maile. These 2. (as it is sayd) were brought from the old Castle, when this Church was built.

In the middst of this Chappell vnder a plaine Coffin Graue Stone lyeth an ancient Bishop.

In a neat and curious Chappell, North of this, called Hungerford Chappell, lyeth Lord Hungerford his Statue in Alablaster, his Tombe both aboue and below artificially cut in Marble ; Hee

¹ Bishop Poore.

² The Cathedrall ; Bishop D'auenant ; Dr. Bayly, Deane , Dr. Thornbury, Sub-deane ; Dr. Duppa, Church Chancellor ; Mr. Lym, Bishops Chancellor ; Dr. D'auenant, Treasurer , Dr. Hinchman, Chantor ; Dr. Barnston, Dr. Osborne, Dr. Seward, Dr. Mason, Mr. Thornbury, the Bishop Worcesters Son ; 50. Prebends, some of them Residents ; Cannons Resident ; 12. Singing Men ; 8. Singing Boyes.

lyeth in his Armour, 2. Angells at his Head, and 2. Nunns supporting his Helmet ; a Hound at his Feete.

Another plaine Monument there is in the said Chappell, but without Statue thereon, or Inscription.

On the other side ouer against this, South of the Lady Chappell called Beauchamps, the Roofe whereof is curiouslie caru'd Irish Wood, in the middst of it is a Monument of Marble, for Bishop Beauchamp, without any Statue ; And 2. more of Marble likewise, for the Bishops 2. Brothers, and both of them without any Statue.

fo. 370b.

/In the same Chappell lyeth Sr. John Cheny, his Statue in Alabaster, in his Armour. Hee was a Knight of the Garter in Henry the 5th. time , The Talbot at his feet, and the Monument is Marble aloft, and below, curiously cut, and caru'd. Betweene the Lady Chappell, and the Lord Hartfords Tomb south is a plaine Monument in Marble for the Lord Sturton, cut with 6. wells, who did an act that relish'd not well with a Gentleman and his son, in this City.

But for richnesse, fayrenesse, and neatnesse, are these two Monuments on either side of the Ladie Chappell

First on the South, at the vpper end of that Ile, at the east window is a fayre, high, and stately Tombe of white and blacke Alabaster, and ranc'd Marble, richly gilt and wrought, on which lieth the Statues, of the old Earle of Hartford, this Lord's Grandfather, Son of the Duke of Somerset ; And his Countesse, a little ascent aboue him, who was Daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke. The Lord Beauchamp his eldest Son kneeling at their head, and Sir Thomas Seymer their other son at their Feet, either of them in the middst of 4. ranc't Pillers. Aboue them 2. Angells sitting in their protecting Postures ; higher vp, the Lion and Horse, and aboue higher, the Vnicorne and Bugle, and on the top of all, the Pellican display'd.

On the other side, right ouer against this, North, stands a high and stately Monument, all of pure white, neat Free stone, curiously wrought, and artificially cut : wherein Lieth the Statues of Sir Thomas Gorges and his Lady, the Lord Gorges Father and Mother with 4. Pillers running vp supporting the 2. ends, 4. more running vp supporting the sides and 4. more wau'd Pillers at the 4. Corners, on the top whereof is the 4. Cardinall Vertues, and many Pillers with Globes ; in the

inside aloft are the 7. gifts of the Holy Ghost, with many verses and Inscriptions about it, written in blacke Marble with golden Letters.

There is a rich and rare peece all of Brasse in hand to be set vp, in the Lady Chappell for the Earle of Pembroke late Lord Chamberlaine.

On the South side of the Quire, on the right hand of the doore, as you goe vp, is a neat Monument in Alabaster, wherein lyeth Bishop Bourcher, the last Bishop that finish'd this stately Church, which was 40. yeeres in building, 400. yeere since, in Henry 3^{ds}. time.

Next on the left hand by the side of the wall, against the Quire in a fayre Tombe of Alabaster, lyeth Sir Richard Monpesson, and his Lady Dame Kathern: He in Armour, She in rich Weeds.

Beyond that is the Monument of Bishop Capon, in Henry 4th. time.

Vpwards beyond that, on the right hand, lyeth in a Marble Monument curiously cut, Bishop Giles, in Henry 3^d time.

On the North side against the Quire, by the Wall, in plaine freestone, lyeth D^r. Sydenham, in Hen 4th. time; and beyond him a little, lyeth D^r. Bennet; His Anotomie/in plaine Free fo. 371. stone, in Henry 5th time; these 2. are in their Winding Sheets. Bishop Cane's plain Marble stone, is a little higher vp right against the Quire.

At the vpper end, iust beyond the High Altar, is a faire and high Monument, artificially cut in Freestone in which lyeth Bishop Blath in Henry 5th. time.

Ouer against the High Altar, north, is a neat Chappell of frestone, curiously cut, and richly gilt, both within and without, which is call'd Bishop Audley's Chappell, wherein lieth that Bishop.

In the Church lyeth in Marble, an old Templer in his crosse legg'd Posture, remou'd thither from the old Castle.

Some other small Monuments there are, on the walls and in the Church, which for the smallnesse of my time I could not take; Onely that sad one of M^r. Miles Sands, Lord Carhle's Brother, who was lately kill'd in a Duell, and there interr'd.

For the statelinesse of this Fabricke, I found her Longitude to equallize most Churches, being 200. of my Paces; her Altitude far surpassing any I yet met with; as being 130. Stayres to the Roofe,

from thence to the bottome of her stately Spire are 200. more, within which, of wood Stayres vpwards are 80. more, afterwards to the windows are 7. Ladders containyng 100. rounds ; to ascend thither, I had a wearisome march, and from thence to her weather-cocke (as they affirme) it is 15. yardes.

For her Vniformity, she is built lotty, with a tayre double Crosse Ile, like her Metropolitan Mother Canterbury : the first, where this stately Steeple stands, is somewhat longer then the other, which crosseth the Quire ; In each Iles are 10. fayre Chappells, 6. whereof is in the first, 3. on either side of the Quire, and 4. in the second, on either side thereof two ; and there is besides 2. Chappells more aboue, flanking the Lady Chappell, which makes vp a compleat Jury, to attend the Grand Body. Beautified with an incredible Company of Marble Pillers, which through the multiplicite of her faire, and lightsome Windowes doe shine most splendidly.

For her Chapter House, standing neere her last Cloyster, I found it beautify'd with 8. fayre Windowes ; A Piller there is in the middst thereof, which supports the Roofe, artificially made and contriud. There is 50. Seats about her for the Prebends with Marble Pillers running vp betweene euery Seat ; aboue which Seats round about, at their heads, and iust at the Foot of the said windowes, is carud, and artificially cut in Freestone, in most apt and admir'd Postures a true Representation of the History of the Bible from the Creation, to the swallowing vp of King Pharaoh in the Red Sea : and this is as fairely done in stone, as at our last Cathedrall we found it in wood, which although they imitated, in this place they set vp Sentinells in their Quire, with an *Hoc age* to supply that.

fo. 371b.

The Close belonging to her is very spacious encompass'd in/with a wall very strong, where stands a strong and stately high Bell-Clotcher, with a merry and braue Ring, of 8. tunable Bells therein ; in this Close is the Bishops Pallace, the Deans, Canons and Doctors Houses, and many others, wherein Knights and Gentlemen of ranke and quality haue there Residences.¹

The Citty hath 4. Churches in her, with this Cathedrall, and in euery one of them are neat Organs, and a sweet Ring of tunable Bells, equally exceeding each other, 6. 7. and 8. a peece, in one of them,² which was formerly the Cathedrall, there is as rich, and

¹ Sir Lawrence Hide ; Sir Robert Gourdon ; Mr. Sadler ; Mr. Vaughan ; Mr. Mompesson.

² St. Edmonds.

faire painted Windowes, as if she were one still ; with one of which, their late Recorder (out of a precise, conceited, tender Conscience) pickt a Quarrell, for which she had her Action of Sacriledge, try'd in a high, and honourable Court, which so stretch'd his strings, and gaue such sound Damages, as distun'd him, and put him quite out of breath. There adioynes close to this Church a faire building of a Knights,¹ which was sometimes a Colledge belonging to this quondam Cathedrall.

I tooke my Nag and made a 6. Mile step ouer the pleasant Plaines to goe see one of our Islands wonders,² those admir'd, strange, confus'd, huge, fixt, astonishing Stones, there erected by a Brittish King³ about 1000. yeeres since, for a memoriall of that Massacre of his Nobilitie, and Subiects, by the treachery of the first intruding Saxons ; I found them in compasse in a round ring, on an ascending hill, in 3. Circular Rankes on a faire Plaine, euery way 30. of my Paces, which I could far sooner number, than their Marble Pillers, or Windowes, at the Cathedrall, and I found them (if you dare credit my telling) iust 90. These stones are of an exceeding length, neere 30. Foote, and of a great bignes, being 10. foot broad, and stand most confusedly, some in a hanging and tumbling Posture, and some twyn'd together on the top like a hideous payre of Gallowes, so strangely, as makes any Spectator to gaze and greatly to wonder at them.

A Quarter of a Mile from these wonderfull Stones euery way, are in view about the number of 50. high, round little Hills, artificially cast vp, which show that some great Battell had bene heene (*sic*) heere pitcht in the Brittaines dayes, and yet not vnlikely but that they were set vp for Markes, or Trophees of the Victory, if not plac'd by the said Brittish King as before.

When I had admir'd these wonders my fill, I marcht backe againe to that stately Abbey,⁴ where Queen Elionor, leauing off all her Princely Regality, and deuoting her selfe to God, liued a religious Recluse, and monasticke Life, now made a faire, and stately Towr'd Building, belonging to a noble Earle of this kingdome,⁵ which is richly, and pleasantly scytuated close vpon that delicate sweet Streame,⁶ which glides sportingly by her through her faire Orchards and Gardens to Salisbury, in a most delightfull Valley.

¹ Sir Giles Escots.

³ King Aurelius

⁵ The Earl of Hartford.

² Stonehenge.

⁴ Amesbury Abbey.

⁶ Auon Riuer.

fo. 372.

From this noble Lords Habitation, I made haste to another Earles Court, which is not far from this Citty to her Shire Towne to see this stately, and Princelike House ;¹ the Roomes, Chambers, and other delights within, and the pleasant Gardens, Orchards, and walkes without, such as renders it indeed, the onely Grace, and Glorie of the Towne, where I had curteous admittance, and fayre Quar/ter by the She gentile keepers Sister thercol.

First she shew'd the Gallery, richly hung, and adorn'd with stately and faire Pictures ; next through a neat withdrawing Roome into the Earles Bed-Chamber, which was most richly hang'd. The Chamber next the Garden, call'd the King's Chamber, the Hangings therein being Cloth of Gold, and on ouer the Chimney Peece is the statue of King Henry 8th. richly cut, and gilded ouer. Next was I shew'd the King's withdrawing Roome, and the Billiard table Chamber, next the Chappell, both richly hung. The great Dyning Chamber, very richly hang'd, in it is a most curious Chimney Peece, of Alablaster, Touch-Stone and Marble, cut with seuerall statues, the Kings, and his Lordships owne Armes richly sett out : All the rest of the Chimney Peeces, are very rich, and faire : A neat rich Chamber wherein the vertuous Lady, his Daughter lyeth, and where I pleas'd my gentle She Guide.

Then I march'd downe through the fayre Great Hall, and stately square built Court, beautify'd about, with the Kings and his owne Armes, by the archt Cellers into the Garden, and there with the fat Dutch Keeper thereof, a rare Artist, that way march'd downe into the middst of it, in a curious broad Alley of 500. Foot long, to a fayre House of Freestone built at the further end of the sayd walke, and Garden, below all Archt, with seats, and pau'd with Freestone ; The Roofe flatt, and leaded with Freestone Battlements and Water-Pooles ; The Statues of Venus, Luna, and 2. more, are cut in white Marble on the Frontispice, Close to this Banquetting House, is that rare Water-worke now making, and contriuing by this outlandish Engineer, for the Singing, and Chirping of Birdes, and other strange rarities, onely by that Element, the finishing which rare peece of Skill, with satisfaction to the ingenious Artist will cost (they say) a great Summe of Money.²

From this House of Pleasure, on either side the whole breadth of this Garden, is rang'd double rankes of pleasant greene walkes, one aboue another, and sett all along with Pots for Flowers of the best kind.

¹ Wilton, The Earle of Pembrokes.

² 2000 l.

Next to the House are 4. great Squares, 2. on either side of the sayd long Walke, in the middst of which are 4. fine square Fountaines, with 4 white Alabaster Statues, neatly, and artificially cut : In one is Venus, with her sonne Cupid in her Armes ; in another Diana, with her bathing sheet ; in a third is Susanna pulling a thorne out of her Foote , and in the 4th. Cleopatra with the Serpent : And next beyond is 2. wildernesses on each side one, in one whereof in the middst of it is the Statue of Flora , in the middst of the other the Statue of Bacchus, both most artificially cutt.

Next we pass'd on a faire Woodden Bridge, ouer a pleasant little Riuer,¹ which runs quite through the middst of this precious Garden, to Salisbury ; And on either side of the faire Walke, beyond the Bridge, are two great foure square Pooles, with stately high Rockes in the middst of them, and golden Crownes on the/Tops, and 4. fo. 372b. lower Rockes about them, which by turning of Cockes that are close by, the water flyes spouting out, at the top of the Rockes ; turning, and whirling the Crownes, and so fall powring into the Pooles ; and the 4. former little Pooles, we last left on the other side of this Riuer, next the Mansion, sends forth water in that manner with the turning of Cockes, washing and dashing the Eyes and Thighs of faire Venus and Diana.

Next beyond in the middst of the Alley vpon a Marble Piller stands the Statue of a Romane Gladiator all in brasse most artificially done, and set forth, in his earnest and true martiall Posture of Combatting, with his brandishing Sword in one hand, and impenetrable Target in the other. And next on either side a gaping Lion, neere to that pleasant chirping Banquetting House, that before I was att, and heere was the Period of my delightfull Garden Journey.

There was one thing more that I desir'd to see, of which I had heard a great report, to see which was well worth a Journey taking onely, both for richnesse, and seruice, and (setting aside that great Storehouse of this Kingdome, the Tower) it may well compare with any in the Kingdome : That is a most gallant Armory, which is 60. yards in Length, the number of Armes therein will compleatly furnish, and fit out 1000. Foote, and Horse : besides 30. Glaues, 30. Welsh Hookes, 60. Black Bills, 20. Holy water Springers, and 60. Staues, which were weapons to guard the old Lord's Person, with many other Offensiuie, and Defensive Armes as Coats of Maile, &c.

Willie.

At the further end of this Armoury, in a little Partition by it Selfe, are some speciaall rich Armes, and of great esteerne, viz^t. Henry 8th. and King Edward the 6th. theirs (*sic*) Armes; The Lord William Herberts, who was this Lord's Grandfather, who wonne the Towne of St. Quintin in France, which was his Raysing. The Lord Henry's his Son, richly gilt, inlayd, and grauen with his coat of Armes, from head to foote, which cost a good pretty Summe¹ the Ransoming; King Henry 8th. Armour Bearers Armes richlie gilt; Two Knights Armes Millain gilt; King Henry 8th. Leading Staffe, and his warlike Scepter; The Lord William his Turkish Scymiter, or Sable, wherewith he fought at St. Quintin, and his whole Armour for his Horse richly grauen and gilded.

From hence I went into a dainty, and pleasant Bowling Ground, wherein many Gentlemen were at that time taking their Recreations. But Night approching, away I troop'd backe againe by that sweet streame to Salisbury, from whence before I part let me tell you what I obseru'd.

Within a small Mile of this, where her old Mother stood, vpon a Hill, is a Castle² (if any) that in her flourishing dayes was impregnable, both for her Scituation, and Strength; For which way soeuer you march to it, you must ascend a very steep hill for halfe a mile togeather, The first deep Trench that rounds it, is very spacious, a great distance betweene that and the deep and steepy one, about the Castle, in which space the Old City stood. There are still some thick, old, and mighty strong Walls, about the Castle yard, wherein is a descent, for 1000. Men to lye safe and secure from all danger of Shot so as it seem'd impossible to scale or win it any way but by famine, Nature, and Art had so prouided for her.

Heere had I enough of the Old, and return'd once again to the New City, which I found without walls about her, onely the Close I mention'd before, where that famous Structure the Cathedrall stands: It is gouerned by a Mayor with one great Mace and 2. smaller, and 24. Aldermen in Scarlet, who hath a fayre Hall to resort to, for the Consultations, where also the Judges Itinerant sitt: One Captain onely commaunds in her 150. Men.

Of this sweet City I take my Farewell, and trip ouer the pleasant Plaines to Woodyards, and not far from thence I entred into another Shire,³ and so along by a 4. mile course crossing the Stoure Riuer to Bradbury Ring, which was in times past a place of great force and strength, and was sometimes the Court of the West Saxon

¹ 500 li.

² Old Sarum, The old Castle

³ Dorsetshire

King, as doth euincingly appeare by the remayning badges of the industry of Man, and her naturall Scytuation ; for round about a high commaunding, steepy Hill, are 2. great double, large, and deep Trenches, the outermost whereof is neere a mile about and much like the last, which I left at Old Sarum : The innermore Hill, where the Castle, Fort, and the Kings Court was, is of a large circuit standing now full of Ashes.

A little on my left before I came there, I left an ancient old Place,¹ which formerly was a Cathedrall, where a Saxon King ² 800. yeeres since was buried ; which still retaines some Quiristers and Boyes, with a faire Organ ; there is in her an ascent of 4. Steps to the Quire, and 12. to the High Altar and some few old Monuments in her : the Spire (not farre short of that at Salisbury) fell downe in a Tempest when the people were at Church, at which time (as they report) a Hare was seene to run vpon it : A terrible Wat to cause such a Clap ; (*sic*).

Walking downe the said Hill, with 2. honest Gentlemen I happen'd on, bound for the next Island, they shew'd me not far from vs, on my left hand, that old, ancient County, Maritime Towne of Poole, standing into the Sea like Portsmouth, handsomely built, and well provided with Shipping ; Critchbarrow Lodge standing on a High Hill in the Isle of Purbecke, a special marke both at Sea and Land ; and Corfe Castle in the same Isle, where Edwin (Sonne of King Edgar) by the deuilish practise of his Stepmother was most cruelly murder'd, wee heere easily discover'd ; to which through the old Mayor Towne of Warham, wee hasten, and there these 2. curteous Gentlemen left me.

I found this Castle ³ built on a very high Hill, all which/is a fo. 373^b. Rocke, and north of that old Towne ⁴ I last mentioned, ouer against Poole ; hauing on either side, East, and West, 2. higher Hills ouertopping her : It is so round and steepy, where the maine Castle stands, as a man can scarcely climbe vp the Hill ; It is so ancient as without Date, yett all her walls and Towers, the maine Castle called the Kings, the lower Castle called the Queens, the large Roomes therein, and the Leads aloft, are all in very good repayre.

After I pass'd ouer the Bridge that crosseth that deep Dike, South from the Towne, I entred into a large and spacious Court, wherein (on a Platforme next the Queens Castle) I mounted towards the Gate some Peeces of Ordinance by which I ascended, through another strong Gatehouse, into the inner Court, and so

¹ Winburne.

² King, Ethelred.

³ Corfe Castle.

⁴ Warham.

with a winding ascent, vp into the great Hall of the Kings Castle, the Guard-Chamber, and the rest.

The walls round about her are very strong and large, and haue faire walkes, secure Platformes, and good Ordinance, but their cheifest Guns, which were goodly braue Brasse Peecces were lately batter'd, and broken to pecies, and sold by One (you may imagine) rather of Venus,¹ then Mars his Company, much to the weakning of the whole Island.

This Island is 10. mile long and 5 mile broad ; and in it are 10. Churches, 2. Captains, one for the East part, and the other for the West ; A noble Knight ² is Admirall of the Isle, and is likewise the now Lessee of the Castle and Royalty ; the Soyle is fertile, and good Southward to the Sea · and In this Island doth range many goodly Deere ; that are hedg'd in with a surrer Pale then Wood, which when they are hunted they will aduenture into the Sea, and take salt soile whereby they stand long, and make braue sport, of which (hauing a fit opportunity offer'd, and a little time to cast away) I had some part, much to my content.

When I had satisfy'd my Selfe heerewith, I retreated againe, through a poore and halfe deuided Mayor Towne,³ ouer a Bridge, the Riuer ⁴ that comes downe from Poole, which makes this Island onely diuiding it from the next adiacent Mayor Towne ; ⁵ both which Worshipfull Mayors when they meet may wrangle, but fight they cannot, neither of them hauing a Sword.

This Towne of Warham is very ancient, and formerly hath bin a statly place, hauing had 15. Churches in it, but now 3 onely left, in one of which lyeth 2. knights Templers crosse-legg'd. Itt hath beene fortify'd with a strong Wall, encompass'd with a deep Ditch, round about the Towne, onely next the South towards the Island there is none, because the sea ebbs, and flowes there, and although the Walls be quite demolish['d,] yet the Ditch doth still remaine.

fo. 374.

Before I parted from this Towne, I had a free, and/generous entertainment, from the honest, merry and true hearted Parson there, both at his owne house, and in the Towne ; and inioy'd much mirth from him, and those honest Gentlemen that then were come to visit him : he was both a good Scholler, and a good Soldier, and an excellent Drum-beating Parson ; his Preparatiues, Troops, and Voluntaries ; his Marches, Skirmishes, and Retreats he beats *ad voluntatem*.

¹ The Lady Hatton.

² St. John Banks.

³ Stowberry.

⁴ Frome Riuer.

⁵ Warham.

I stay'd the longer heere, hoping to haue had these gentlemen along with me, they being of that noble Earles Retinue, that I was goeing to wayte vpon, at Lulworth Castle¹ but part they could not so soone, the skirmish was so hot, so I parted from them, with a letter of recommendations, to one of their true Associates, the Gentleman of the Horse there, who (when I came thither) kindly presented me to his noble Lord for the tender of my Seruice, so soone as he came from hunting with a great French Monseur, out of the foresayd Island.²

What generous, and free entertainment I had heere, if I should truly relate it, I might perhaps be censur'd to bee a little inclining to partialitie, or that some particular loue had transported me, therefore, for these reasons I will conceale it, as I receiue'd it, and will giue you a breife description of this fayre Castle.

I found it stately and loftie, and newly built of Freestone and other durable white stone, such as the Island of Purbecke affords Plenty, off, and in a 4. square vniformity, with 4. great and lofty, high round Towers at the corners the Dyning Chamber is very stately, large, and rich, with a faire Cloth of State; by it is a curious and neat withdrawing Roome, in one of the Towers, in which Towers are 3. stories of faire Lodging Chambers, all richly hang'd and adorn'd.

After you enter the Court, you ascend vp into the Hall, by stately Stayres of Freestone, a great, and faire distance, and aloft the sayd Stayres betweene the Battlement, and the Porch (before you enter the stately Hall) on the right hand you may descend into a goodly Kitchin, and all her Handmaid Offices on that side; On the left hand into the braue archt Cellers for Wine and Beere, with their attending Offices on the other side; and so sally out at Arches, both from your Meat and Drinke: At the vpper end of the Hall, is a neat round Roome, in one of the Towers, which receiues his Lordships priuate Gentlemen, as that aboue doth himselfe at Meales.

The Top of all this Castle is flat, leaded roundabout and hath also strong Freestone Battlements; on the Leads through a daintie glade, you may see within 2. Mile thereof, the Ships sayling on the Maine, the/most part of the Island of Purbecke; Another statelie fo. 374b Building³ of his Lordships neere adioyning, and all those large and goodly Parkes belonging to this, and that.

¹ Lulworth Castle, The Earl of Sussex's

² Mounseur Soubize.

³ Bindon Castle

After I had taken my solemne Leauē, I thought fitt to speed ouer to another Island,¹ which I did all along the Sea Coast to the White Mayor Towne of Weymouth, and there in the middst of her, cross'd a broad Hauen ouer a fayre Archt, woodden, draw Bridge, to which many Ships of a pretty Burthen doe come, and soone passe through by opening the Bridge, the said Riuer is the List that deuides the 2. Capitaines Bands.

From hence I hasten to the Castle,² which is a mile from the Towne, standing close by the broad Streame, which makes the Island right ouer against the Castle therein ;³ Both which Castles I found in the same round Moddell and Forme, prouided with the same Munition and Strength, and commaunded as those are, which I left guarding the Downes within 3. Mile of one another.

This Island, where the Saxons first landed, 800. yeeres since, I found small in Circuit, and small in Reuenue, yeilding nothing almost but stone Quarries, where I saw a great Companie of Pioneers, digging, deluing, haling, breaking, and framing stones to repayre and beautify that old and plaine, decaying and goodly Pile of Building the Mother Cathedrall of Our Kingdome.⁴ There is but one Church in the Island to receiue her mountainous and hardy Inhabitants, in the Posterity of the Poets, Deucaleon and Pyrrha, as I conceiue ; no great matter was there of obseruation heere, besides the strong, rocky, clifty, Maritime Scytuation to take vp time.

Away I posted ouer the topped Hills, and deep Dales to the cheife Shire Mayor Towne of this County,⁵ which is sweetly scytuated in a pleasant Valley, the Riuer⁶ running close to her. Her streets especially those 4. that goes through her with the 4. windes, are fayrely built, and of good vniiformity.

A Mile short of my entring into her, I discouer'd a little on my left a braue defensible Place, as such it hath beene, butt now onely a Fortification of Earth ; for it is inuiron'd on a spacious hill with Double, and deep Trenches, which the Inhabitants thereabouts call the Mayden Castle, but her virginitie long scal'd and lost : And nearer the Towne, there is another high, round strong Mount. These seeme very ancient, for I could not inquire out their Founders or Originalls.

From hence I hasten'd to another Shire and City, and high time

¹ Isle of Portland.

² Weymouth Castle, Captain Bamfeld.

³ Portland Castle, Sr. Francis Sydenham.

⁴ St. Pauls, London.

⁵ Dorchester.

⁶ Frome.

it was for I had a 40. Miles march, and but one day left to finish my 5th weekes Trauell. First to Burford, from thence by a fayre Building of Mr. Arundells, and so tumbled downe a stony, and craggy way into Lyme; where at a low water, I rode into the rare, and vnparralell'd Harbour called the Cobb,¹ wherein after a Sea drift, the Shipps are there safely impounded, and lockt vp from wind, and weather, with a broad and strong triple Guarded stone wall, a furlong, and more into the Sea, between which and the Towne, it ouerflowes, and swells/soe high euery full Sea, as fo. 375. Shipps may Sayle therein.

In this strange Harbour I found betweene 30. and 40. indifferent good Vessells, and of a pretty Burthen², all safely lodg'd and bosom'd. It is big enough to hold as many more, which lye safe, quiet, and still at all distresse of weather, onely an Easterly gale of wind is a little troublesome, which when it blowes itt driues in at the Gate of the said Pound, and iustles the vessells a little, which Gap is a streight, rocky, and dangerous entrance, to all saue her owne Nauigators. It is so strongly encompass'd, as they feare no wracke, or Pound breach, although they have incroach'd so farre into Neptunes bosome.

From hence I make speed to Axminster, crossing there a pretty little Riuer,³ but before I entred into the Towne I entred a new Shire⁴ along to Hunnington ouer another Riuer,⁵ and from thence by some Seats of Knights and Gentlemen, with happy Guides and faire wayes, from that Market Towne Hunnington, I ended my 5. weekes Trauell at a quiet Inne, the [blank] in the high and cheifest street there, of this fayre City, and had faire Quarter with my honest Country-woman who was the Gouvernesse of that Family.

Before I entred this City,⁵ I met with 2. charitable workes in the Kings high way; the one was a fayre Hospitall which was built by [blank] And the other, an vnusuall place wall'd in, for the burying place of poore Delinquents who vnfortunately spin out the thread of their Liues, at that fearefull, spacious, and strong Tree; of which for the rarity thus much I transcrib'd.

5^{to} Marcij 1557. This Place was blessed by the Lord Bishop, giuen by Mr John Peter, then Mayor, Inclos'd by the honest Matron, Joan Tuchfeild, whose Soule, Lord pardon.

The first thing I view'd after my weary preceeding dayes Journey

¹ Lyme Cobb.

⁴ Ottery Riuer.

² Ax Riuer

⁵ City of Exeter.

³ Deuonshire.

was the Cathedrall Church,¹ the which was built, and finish'd, (some yeeres after the first foundation thereof lay'd) by a Saxon King ² At her west entrance, I found a fayre Frontispice, which represented to the eye, a luely Prospect, viz^t. 3. Rowes of goodly great Statues, artificially cut in Freestone, (much like the Cathedrall at Wells) the highest whereof are the Prophets, Apostles, and Fathers, the other two of the Saxon, and Roman Kinges. And on the top aboue them all, is King Edward the Confessor, and Leofricus the 1. Bishop, receiuing his Congee desleere in an humble Posture on his knee.

Although this Cathedrall ³ be not exceeding long, yet itt is very wide, fayre, and lofty, and hath standing on either side of her Crosse Isle 2. Towers, in one of them hangs a braue Ring of 8. Bells ; In the other but one onely, but it is a goodly one, brother to Tom of Lincolne, sure one of the breed of Osney, which (as they say) weighs aboue 10000. Weight, and is in Compasse 18. Foote. For 2. things in her besides that great Bell, she may compare with any of her Sisters in England, one is a stately, rich, high Seat for the Bishop ; and/the other is a delicate, rich, and lotty Organ which has more additions then any other, as fayre Pipes of an extraordinary length, and of the bignesse of a man's Thigh, which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, togeather, makes a melodious, and heauenly Harmony, able to rauish the Hearers Eares.

The Monuments that are in this Church are soe rich and magnificent, as comes little short of any other I had seen.

First in the South Ile of the Quire is a faire, rich Monument of Alabaster and Marble, whereon lyeth that good old Bishop Cotton, in his Pontificall Robes, of pure white Alabaster.

Beyond the Quire on that side next the wall, lyes 2. old warriors in Marble, the one is Bohun Earl of Hereford, in his Coat of Maile, with his sword, and Target, in his cross-legg'd Posture. The other is one Chichester, an old Knight of the Rhodes in his Armour Cap a pee : and in the same crosse-legg'd Posture.

A little further vp on the right hand, lyes Bishop Adams, in a

¹ The Cathedrall, S^t Peter

² K. Athelstane.

³ Bishop Hall, D^r. Peterson, Deane ; M^r Cholmley, Sub deane ; D^r. Burnell, Church Chancellor, D^r. Parry, B^{ps} Chancellor ; D^r Huthinson ; D^r. Killet, M^r Rob: Hall, Treasurer ; Archdeacon of Cornwall, Archdeacon Cotton ; Archdeacon Wilson, Canons, Resident, 20 Prebends, 4 Vicars ; 16. Singing Men, 10. Singing Boys

neat Chappell richly gilt, with a faire and sumptuous Altar, now much defac'd.

Right ouer on the other side, north, opposite vnto this, is (*sic*) another the like neat Chappell lieth the Founder thereof, whose name was [blank] Speake.

On the South of the Lady Chappell lyeth Sir John Gilbert in his Armour, with his Lady by him, their Statues are Freestone.

The Monument of the late Bishop Carey of Alablastar and Marble; and his Statue of Alablastar.

Betweene that little Chappell and the Lady Chappell, is a neat and lofty Monument, with curious cutt stone whereon lyeth Bishop Blanscombe in Alablastar: hee built Glasney Colledge in Cornwall: Hee was sent Ambassador to the Roman Emperor. The Emperors Armes, King Edward the Confessors, and his owne are fairely set out, and gilt.

Thereby is the Earle of Arundells Coat, 300. yeeres since At the vpper end of the Lady Chappell; The Monument of that learned, Religious, wise, and worthy Judge Doddridge, very rich, stately, and lofty of Alabaster, Marble, and Touch, artificially cutt to the Life, in his Judges Roabes.

Neere him is a faire Monument for his Lady, who was the daughter of Sir [blank] Bamfeild.

Adioyning vnto these lyes 2. old Abbots in Marble.

By them is the Lady Smiths Hearse.

Ouer against Bishop Blanscombe, is another faire and neat Monument correspondent to that, in which lyeth Bishop Stafford in Alabaster; Hee was of the noble Family of the Staffords, Dukes of Buckin/gham and Lord Chancellor. Hee ^{fo.} 376. built the Castle at Plimouth.

On the wall thereby is Mrs Barretts little neat Monument.

In the little Chappell, north of the Lady Chappell, is a faire Monument for Sir Gawin Carey, and his Lady.

And by him vnder that Monument in Alabaster lyeth Sir Peter Carew in his Armour, elder Brother of the Lord Carew, Baron of Clopton; Hee was slaine by an Irish Knight.

On the North Ile against the High Altar lieth in Alabaster, Bishop Stapleton, Lord Treasurer to Edward the 2nd, the custody of London was committed to him, in the Kings Absence; Hee was there slaine by the Mayor and Citizens, and where Essex house now is, was obscurely bury'd, from whence hee was taken vp, and heere interr'd.

Ouer against him lyeth his valiant Brother in his Armour, who in revenge of his brothers death, killed the Mayor in the Street, and being well mounted fled, but was stopt by a Cripple at the Gate, whereupon it had the name, and taken, and put to Death, His Horse halfe out of the Gate, and the Cripple holding fast his Bridle, are both artificially cut in Freestone. On the wall is a neat Statue of Sir Peter Carew eldest son of Baron Carew of Clopton, kneeling.

Also the Monuments of Bishop Lacy, Bishop Marshall, and the Anotomy of one Parkehouse, a Cannon.

In the Church is a faire, and ancient Monument, whereon Lyeth an Earle of Deuonshire who was one of the Premier Knights of the Garter in Edward the 3rds. time, in his Martiall weeds: and his Countesse by him who was of the noble Family of Bohun.

To end with the Monuments, though it be the last and plainest, yet must it not be omitted; Leofricus the first Bishop of this Church, who lyeth in a plaine Monument of Marble, without any Statue, at the South Doore, entring the Ile against the Quire, A°. 1073.

Aloft the Quire, right against the South side of the High Altar, is a remarkable Place, which is 3. Seats, wherein King Edward the Confessor, and his Queen, on either hand of the Bishop did sit. It is yet rich, but nothing so glorious, as it hath beene, their statues being richly gilt, are quite defac'd, and pull'd downe.

There belongs to this Cathedrall a braue Cloister, all the seeling about being adorn'd with curious and artificiall workes, one Quarter whereoff is conuerted into a faire Library.

Att the further end of the Library there is a Rarity, which is a real Anotomy of a Man, who (for his Delinquency) ended his Life at the heauy Tree: all his seuerall Bones, 248, his Teeth 28. &c. all fix'd and plac'd in their proper places, which was dissected by a skilfull Italian Doctor, with the approbation of the right-reuerend and learned Lord Bishop of this Diocesse, and with his leave here appointed to be kept.

fo. 376b.

Beside the Cloyster, there is a neat Chapter House, seel'd with Irish wood, and richly gilt; and close by it, is a pretty Chappell, which is christen'd by the name of the Holy Ghost, and is artificially caru'd about with Joyners worke.

Besides the Bishops Pallace, the Deans and Canons Houses which are in the large Close, there is a faire Colledge, for the

Vicars, with a great Hall, and within their Court, a Cup of good Ale, which I liberally tasted off, with their honest Organist, and some of the merry Vicars ; where I will leaue them, and returne to the Citty againe, to obserue her Gouverment (*sic*) and Scytuation.

For her Gouvernment, I found it order'd by a gentile and discreet Mayor, with a fayre sword, a Mace, and a Cap of Maintenance with the assistance of 12. graue and rich Crimson Aldermen, and one Sheriff ; they sitt in a goodly fayre Hall to distribute Justice, which stands in the high Street : She hath 4. Captains to whom are equally quarter'd 600. trayn'd soldiers, 150. in each Company : And for her Inhabitants, there is 20. handsome Churches, with the Cathedrall, wherein to performe their Deuotions.

For her Scytuation it is sweet, cleane, and pleasant, being seated vpon the gentle ascent of a Hill, by a fayre Riuer,¹ that comes running from the west part of her from her Hauen whither Ships comes vp, some 3. miles distance from the City ; from thence their Goods and Marchandise are transported in the same Channell by Keeles and Lighters to their owne Doores : ouer the said Riuer is a faire stone Bridge of 20. Arches, vnder which the dainty Salmon Trouts come trolling, and sporting vp further into the Country, to spawne, which watry Creatures haue a forward thirsting in their moist trauell, as euidently appeares by their willing progresse in their clyming, and iumping vp those staire fallings, and water-falls of the Riuer, in many places against their passage seeming incredible, which in this pleasant Riuer Ex may be pointed at with an *Ecce* ; the head of which Riuer springeth at solitary Exmore in Somersetshire, neere the Seuerne Sea.

The Buildings and Streets are faire, especially her high Street from East to West Gate, by which stands, that spacious goodly old Building ² belonging to a noble Lord : and in her is an ancient old Castle,³ which erewhile was the Pallace of the West Saxon Kings, now quite demolish'd, except only the walls and Towers about the yard, in which stands an old Shire House where the Judges sit at the Assizes.

The City is inuiron'd about with a Wall, about 2. Mile in Compasse, with 5. Gates and some watch Towers ; and on the out parts thereof she is guarded about with pleasant walkes and diuerse Bowling Grounds ; as one on the West by that sweet Streame ; another on the East ; and a pleasant one along by the deep valley on the North part, neere to the Citty South, on the banke of that sweet

¹ The Riuer Ex

² Bedford House.

³ The Castle.

fo. 377.

Riuer, stands a stately Building ¹ late that good Judge's I left so lately quietly resting in the Lady Chappell, but it is time now to leaue this Citty, yet before I could part, /I must taste a dish of sweet Salmon, and after it a Glasse of briske wine, with my Landlord and Landlady, my kind and louing Country-woman, which was their curteous Foy.

I (after bidding farewell) then tooke Horse, and speeded on my Journey, but had no desire ouer Tamer, to the horned-nock-hole Lands-end, nor her horned wayes to the rough, hard-bred, and brawny strong limb'd wrastling Inhabitants thereof. Nor to the north Riuers of Tow, and Towridge.

Away therefore I troop'd for Taunton downe ouer rugged wayes, and through as rugged a Mayor Towne, ² which is so poore, and ancient, as she hath quite lost all breeding and good manners; for I could not passe her without a Volley of Female Gun-shot, which made me hasten away from her, as fast as I could to a little better qualify'd Towne ³ then the other, which is in another Countie, ⁴ and which is much better order'd (then this is with their whole Corporation) onely by a noble knight, ⁵ that hath his fayre Mansion there, and 3. mile short thereof on the top of a hill I bad Deuonshire Adieu.

I found but small amendment in my wayes, which brought me late to their Assize Towne, ⁶ which I found a pleasant, and dry Place, the Streets handsome and fayre, and well built, with a sweet Riuer ⁷ gliding through her, grac'd with a fayre Church and a stately high Steeple, with a sweet and tunable Ring of Bells; fortify'd with a defensible Castle built by a Saxon King, ⁸ now much ruined, especially the great Tower; inuiron'd with a moted Ditch; within the Court the Judges sit to keepe the Assizes, and gouern'd it is by a Mayor, and Aldermen.

From hence I hastened, and from their right downe Country Swaynes, to meet with my last Summers Trauell, and by the way to behold, see, and admire, that which we then pass'd by, the Ruines of a famous Abbey to which I pass'd through, large, rich, and fertile Grounds ⁹ by Burgh Church, which stands mounted on a round hill like a Castle, and there I cross'd by 3. Bridges ouer one Streame, ¹⁰ that flowes thither from Bridgwater, and with the help of that high commaunding Land, and Seamarke Tarr ¹¹ I got

¹ Mount Ratford ² Bradnidge. ³ Willington. ⁴ Somersetshire.

⁵ Sir Francis Popham. ⁶ Taunton. ⁷ Tone Riuer. ⁸ King Inas.

⁹ The Moores. ¹⁰ Garret. ¹¹ Glastenbury Tarr.

to dine at this ancient Towne, by crossing the Riuer,¹ which crosseth the middle of this Shire : Heere had I soone a sight at full of the stately ruines, and demolish'd downfalls of that ancient, rare, and vnparalell'd Abbey,² stufte enough left to reare vp a new History ; yet had I but one vnder-Meales time, to admire and behold it.

The First place I entred into (as is generally receiued for truth) was the first religious Fountaine, and holy Foundation in this Kingdome, Joseph of Arimathea's Chappell³ ; where the first Groundsill of our Faith was layd ; and where hee with 12. Disciples preach'd the Gospell of glad tidings ; which hath bene very spacious, rich, and stately, as by her 2. Towers with Staires yet standing, and her walls and Structures about her, still willing and able to hold vp their heads, does appeare. All vnder archt, strong, and spacious, from which (as they commonly report)/there went fo. 377b. an Arch'd vault to that high Tarr, a mile distance, now fill'd vp with earth.

The Cathedrall which was built by the aforesayd King Inas was of large extent, and a rich, and rare Architecture ; as by the Towers, Walls, Iles, Angles, &c. still remayning though almost quite demolish'd, wee may discern.

The Abbots Mansion, his large and spacious Cellars, all archt, his rarely modell'd, round, Freestone, large, and high kitchen, built in that manner by the Abbott to preuent his Princes threat, doe all still most plainly represent and shew the splendour and magnificent greatnesse of this place, and what bounteous Hospitalitie itt afforded.

There is still standing a strong wall, which is a Mile in Compasse in all which space, there are some appearing badges, and Reliques of the seuerall Chappells, varietie of Buildings, and religious Mansions of those holy Men, neere quite demolish'd : A most lamentable spectacle to behold the ruines of so many religious Houses, and sacred structures, of so magnificent, and respendant (*sic*) eminency, built to the honor of God, and for the practise of deuotion, rac'd and pull'd downe for Idolatry and Superstition.

In the Scull Vault I weary'd my Selve with tossing and tumbling ouer their Saints bones ; The vnparalell'd, and strange Christmas-day-blossoming-Hawthorne, looking as if it would not flourish in Summer, much lesse sprout forth on that nipping day in Winter, I markt to bee sear'd with Catholike markes, which may be credited with the more probability, for that Gentlemen of ranke and

¹ Brine Riuer.

² Glastenbury Abbey.

³ Josephs Chappell.

quality, and many of vnquestionable Credit there about, that are liuing, doe affirme the same ; I found a young Bud and off spring of itt planted in a Tauerne Garden in the Towne, which is too young to be manacled with incisions, but old enough to Matrizare, and bloome on the same ioyfull and happy morning, which, with a glasse of good Sacke, I left springing and flourishing ; and such as desire further satisfaction heere, may (if they please) trauill thither then, and dance a Christmasse Carrol about them for their pleasure.

Longer I could not stay, but mounted vp into the Ayre to her stately Tarr, and there (vpon that sweet commaunding prospect) tooke leaue of that old flourishing place, those fertile and pleasant Moores and Meads, and of the Ocean also, which in all this Journey, from the beginning thereof I had prettilie inur'd my Selfe to neere a quotidian View and noise thereof for aboue 5. weekes and 500. Miles march, and trooping away by that pretty sweet City of Wells night approched soe fast, as I durst neither enter nor stay, but leaue her and her faire Fountaine Cathedrall, to my last Summers Journall relation.

fo. 378.

So I march'd on in my old troden way to Bath, and with too much confidence in my sole conduct on those darksome Downes, I quite lost my way, vntill those good Land-markes the Lights in her, directed me which way to fall, though with some difficulty/and danger, into this deep bottom'd Citty,¹ where I confesse, I was beholding to the Spanish Nation, for by meanes of some of my Lord Ambassadors Gentlemen, sitting long vp at their owne Country Licquor, I gott a hansom quarter in the same Inn, where those iouiall Dons were billeted. The order, Gouvernment, Manners and scytuation of this Citty, the People, Baths and Structures I shall refer you to my last yeeres relation, for in that is all that is heere worth Obseruation.

After the refreshment heere of my weary'd Microcosme in the Royall Bath, with all kind of People, of seuerall degrees, Nations and Sexes, Away I iourney'd through the same Shires, Townes and Corporations, by the same goodly Parkes, Places, and Seats of Earles, Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, that I the last yeere mention'd ; entring and leauing the limits and boundaryes of the said pleasant Counties, the delightsome Scytuations of the said Townes, Parkes and Seats with their names and conditions, all which I did in my Journall amply expresse.

At last I tooke vp my quiet rest and repose, with the same

¹ Bath Citty.

louing Freind I then did, whose bounty was not one iot lessened, during my time of stay there then before I found it, for such free curteous and hearty entertainment I receiu'd both at his owne habitation, and at his Neighbours neere vnto him, a noble true-hearted Knight, which was soe ample, as it were too long heere to insert, and not requisite for me to relate.

After I had thoroughly rested, strengthen'd and refresh'd my Selfe at these merry Feasts, with these Louing and generous Gentlemen, I set on for another Shire passing by, as I trauell'd, many faire habitations, goodly Parkes, and fine Seats of both Lords and Knights¹: But in the last Lord's habitation, whose name the Margine expresses, I had the fauor to haue a full view of all his Lordships fayre Roomes, Chambers and Galleries, which were all most richly hang'd, adorn'd and furnished, and this I obtain'd by the meanes of the Gentleman my louing Freind, who in curtesie came so farre along with me, which was an addition to the number had beene vouchsaf'd me.

Nor could I yet perswade him to leaue me, but goe he would with me, and shew'd me a strange and admirable Rocke,² which is about 2. Mile from the last mention'd Lords; which place is of it selfe sufficient to take vp a Volume; for the naturalnesse thereof, and the Art and Industry that the ingenious Owner hath added thereunto, makes the same vnparalell'd; yet so much as I could well obserue, for that small time we stay'd there, I brought away, the which bee pleas'd to accept and take, as I found and tooke it.

On the side of a hill is a Rocke of some 11. or 12. Foote high, from the bottome whereof (by turning of a Cocke) riseth and spouts vp about 9. foote high, a Sreame which raiseth vp on her top a Siluer Ball, and as the sayd Streame riseth or falleth to any pitch or distance, so doth the Ball, with playing, tossing and keeping continually at the top of the sayd ascending Streame: the which after it gaines the top, descends not againe into that Current, but fo. 378b. runs into the Rocke and there disperseth it selfe, and in the like manner also, there is a hedge of water made streaming vp, about a mans heeight (*sic*), crossing like a plash'd Fence, whereby sometimes faire Ladies cannot fence the crossing, flashing and dashing their smooth, soft and tender thighs and knees, by a sudden inclosing them in it.

¹ Coggs, the Earle of Downes; Chalberry Parke, the Earl of Darby's; Ditchlet, Sr. Hen. Lee's; The Lord Faulklands.

² Enstone, Mr Bushells

This Rocke is within, and takes vp all one side of a faire 4. square Building, all of Freestone, the top whereof is flatt with Battlements about, and couer'd with Lead, and a neat Garden adioyning to itt.

There is a fayre Chamber ouer this Rocke ; in the Seiling thereof is curiously and artificially painted to the Life, the woman of Samaria drawing water for our Sauieur : Hagar and her son, Ishmael and the Angell directing her and Susanna with the 3. Elders ; And in this Chamber is a naturall Rocke, like vnto the Head of a Beare ; on the top thereof, the water rises and spouts forth, falling in the Rocke, you cannot discerne whither : from about the middle of this Chamber, they make a Canopy of Rame, which poures downe all ouer the lowest Roome, where the Ball playes, the plasht Fence and Rocke stands, as fast as any showre, yet iust vnder the Canopy, a man (in the Showers full Carreere) may stand dry, which with the reflection of the Sunne at high Noone, makes appeare to our fancies Rainbowes and flashings like Lightning.

Two other little neat Roome (*sic*) there are, on either side of the said Chamber, one, hung with blacke Cloth, representing a melancholly retyr'd life like a Hermits ; The one whereof is his Study : and the other his Bed-Chamber, in that aboue his Bed, is the History of our Sauieurs Natiuity and Passion, most curiously wrought about the Hangings ; and at the head his Picture artificially drawne.

This Rocke, being naturall, is very rare and admirable, and soe was approu'd off very lately, by high and iudicious Judgements. Our gracious Soueraignes owne royall view, and those noble Earles, Lords, and Courtiers, that attended thither his Maiesties Royall Person ; for indeed, many strange formes of Beasts, Fishes and Fowles doth appeare ; and with the pretty murmuring of the Springs ; the gentle running, falling and playing of the waters ; the beating of a Drum ; the chirping of a Nightingale, and other strange, rare and audible sounds and noyses doth highly worke vpon any Mans Fancy ; the couzning windowes about it, makes you thinke that another such strange Rocke appeares on the other Side, where at first view I began to suspect my owne Posture.

The coming to it is on one side grac'd and set out with 3. neat, curious, long Walkes 30. paces descending, and ascending againe, one aboue the other on the brow of the Hill, the middst of them pau'd with Freestone, and euery descent from each other are 6. Freestone Stayres : betweene euery of the said walkes, you leaue (flanking on both sides of you) as you march to, or from this faire Rocke and building, are pleasant fruitfull Plumtrees, and other

Fruit Trees ; On the other side are pleasant delightfull Gardens of Flowers.

Beyond the Rocke, att the bottome of the Hill, neere to the House, are curious Pooles and rare Waters ; Aboue, before you des/cend the Hill to this Rocke, is a curious Walke, with neatly fo. 379. contriu'd Arbors ; the whole length of the foresayd Garden, House, Rocke and Walkes is a most pleasant, sweet and delightsome Place ; yet did it seeme strange to me that a Gentleman should be so strangely conceited and humour'd, as to disburse and lay out so much Money as he has done, in planting, framing, contriuing and building vpon another Mans Freehold, to reare a Paradise and then to loose it. A mad gim-cracke sure, yet hereditary to these Hermiticall and Proiecticall Vndertakers.

After we had tasted of the Hermits diet drinke, the cleare rocke water, and satisfy'd our thirsty desires with the full contentiue variety of all his admir'd contriuances in this pleasant Rocke, we hastned to Tue, and refresh'd our Stonakes (*sic*) with a Cup of better Licquor at an honest Gentlemans, where after wee had parted a Breakfast, wee parted Company ; my kind freind backe to his Family, and I on my Taske for another Shire,¹ which I entred at a Towne,² as full of Ale as Zeale, where they doe make no Conscience to translate an Altar to a Signe ; which in my iudgement is a plaine signe to iudge how they stand addicted.

I durst not stay long heere for feare that those two (I mean Ale and Zeale) might soone ouer-load a Trauellor ; therefore away I hasted from them ouer their Bridge, crossing that Riuer,³ that hastens to meet Isis at Oxford, leauing this zealous brood, and this braue Shire, and heere entred I into the next Shire ;⁴ and soe speeded by faire prospects, and neat Scytuations to her old Shire Towne,⁵ into which I troop'd ouer a Bridge, crossing that Streame⁶ that glides vnder it, and thus I found her.

Her Scytuation is dry and pleasant, her Buildings fayre and spacious, her vniformity indifferent, encompass'd about (onely that parte excepted, which the Riuer hems in) with a strong and spacious wall, 2. mile about, with 4. Gates ; The Streets from them are reasonable fayre ; her Market Place is very large, sweet and cleane.

There is 4. Churches that grace the Towne, in one of which, and that which to my eye was in my iudgement the fayrest, I did take notice of two Monuments.

¹ Oxfordshire.

⁴ Northamptonshire

² Banbury.

⁵ Northampton Towne.

³ Charwell.

⁶ Nen Riuer.

The first was the Monument of Sir William Samuell.

The other, the Monument of Mr. Creswell, who was a charitable and religious Gentleman, and did very well both in his Life and at his death; Hee had beene 4. times a proudent and carefull Mayor of this Corporation, and charitably gaue (when he gaue vp all) 14^d. weekely to the poore, which euery Sunday is distributed to them in Bread, vpon his Tombe.

There is 2. Hospitalls in her, and an old Abbey call'd St. Andrew's, late purchas'd by a politique Knight, at an easy rate.

fo. 379b.

I march'd a pretty distance out of the Towne to view/her ancient Castle, scytuated on the West, close by the Ruer, built by the first Earle thereof 600. yeeres since; which I found mounted on a hill, enuiron'd with a strong wall with some Towers; intrench'd in with a Ditch, passable by a strong bridge, and a Gatehouse; the Circuit of the Court is about 2. Acres, wherein are the ruines and downefalls of a strong Castle, and other defensible Towers, onely the walles of one large round Tower holds vp her head in spite of worme-eating Time, to signify what vsefull Handmaids attended once that famous strong Castle, before they felt the hot and feirce blowes of Ciuill Dissentions.

I found the Towne regulated by a Mayor, 2. Bayliffes and 12. Aldermen; to them I left it, and away speed I by that sweet Brooke ¹ I cross'd before, with a ready and willing Guide to Willingbrooke Market, where I marked a fayre Inn, that was lately grac'd by the Queen's Highnesse to an Inn of Court during her Maties stay there, to drinke of that medicinable spring water.

From thence I hasted, and as I rode I had in view a great many goodly Spires of Churches, fairely built, which brought me with some content to Owndell; by many pleasant, delicate, rich Scytuations of Lords, knights, Ladies and Gentlemen,² rendring the time not irkesome to weary Trauellers in hauing such pleasing obiects euer in view to beguile the same; likewise I pass'd ouer many fayre, long, and strong, Arch'd, stone Bridges before I came into the Towne aforesayd.

My Lodging heere was at the Signe of the Talbot, where I found a good Inne and good Vsage; In this Towne I tooke notice of a

¹ Nenn.

² Moulton, Sir Christopher Hattons; Drayton, the Earl of Peterboroughs and Westmorlands; Frampton, Sir John Washingtons, Alwincle, Sir William Fleetwoods; Sir Barnaby Bryans; Sir Rowland St. John, The Lady Montagues, Barnwell Castle; Linson, Mr. Elmes's; Stoke, Mr. Palmers.

faire Hospitall, and a Free Schoole for 18. poore women and 30. poore Schollers, both which was built and maintayn'd by the religious and charitable gift of an old Parson, whom God had rays'd and enabled from a very poore estate to this pious Abilitie, with the Donors Motto at their entrance; On the first, the Hospitall, this *Quod dedi accepi*. And on the latter, the Free Schoole, this *Ex ore Infantium, perfecisti Laudem*: and so I leaue the aged and the young, to their Prayers and Studies.

Hauing left this Towne, I hastened to visite a sickly and dying Castle,¹ not able to hold vp her head, which neuer left aking, euer sithence that heroicke spirited Queen² left aking hers there, which I entred ouer a Bridge, through a strong Gate-house. In her I found many large and goodly Roomes, Chambers, Galleries, Chappell, Kitchins, Buttryes, and Cellars, all correspondent, fitt and answerable for a Princes Court.

And for strength, both offensive and defensive, she was nott long since well prouided with Towers, Bulwarkes and Keeps for soldiers to keepe in; more especially one round, mounted, large and strong, on the right hand of the Gate-house purposely built by a famous Duke,³ for those martiall Men to play their Peeces ouer; and vnder those strong walls and Battlements, now much ruined, with all their Lodgings and Chambers, in that strong Fetter-lockt Hold, with dismall Dungeons thereby, which are both deepe and hideously darke.

/Her stately Hall I found spacious, large and answerable to the fo. 380. other Princelike Roomes, but drooping and desolate, for that there was the Altar, where that great Queen's head was sacrific'd; as all the rest of those precious, sweet Buildings doe sympathize, decay, fall, perish and goe to wracke, for that vnluckie and fatall blow.

Vpon the Leads I beheld her pleasant scytuation, a delightfull Riuer, gliding and sporting close to and by her drooping Walls, and a sweet leuell of rich Meadow Grounds louingly adioyning to it; but the longer I stay'd, the more was my greife augmented, to see that soe stately and magnificent a Structure should in her flourishing strength and age, be most vnhappyly destin'd to such ruine and desolation: these Speculations made me vnwilling to dedicate any more of my time heere, further then to take a cursory sight (which I did) of the ancient Colledge, standing not far from this Castle.

¹ Fotheringay Castle

² Mary, Queen of Scots.

³ Edmund of Langley, Duke of Yorke.

Againe then I mounted and troop'd through a little Nooke of Huntingtonshire, by the same pleasant Riuer of Nenn to the old Mother Church and ancient Fen City of this Shire :¹ The Buildings and her Inhabitants, much alike poore and meane ; I found in her not any thing remarkable, that was worth obseruing or traouelling to, but her Cathedrall, which is an ancient lofty, strong and fayre compacted Building of 1000. yeeres standing ; Her west entrance is somewhat differing from others, which I haue seene, with a lofty fayre Arch that makes a fayre walking Ile before you enter thereinto.

As soone as I stept in, I stept vpon a Graue stone, vnder which lay an old Watchman, and Keeper of this old Minster, whose strength (as they say) was not to be parralell'd in this Land, the which they were loth should dye with him, because he had beene an old seruant and a faithfull Sexton to this his Mother Church : and although he was but in a low Office in her, yet they haue plac'd him in a high Posture on the wall, in his iust proportion, with the Badges of his Place and Characters of his Person , which, since they were so well pleas'd as to set vp, it pleas'd me as well to take ; and thus I found them.

*You see old Scarlets Picture stand on high,
But at your feete, there doth his Body lye.
His Graue-Stone doth his Age and Death-time show,
His Office, by these tokens you may know.
Second to none for Strength and sturdy Limb,
A Scar-babe mighty Voice, with Visage grim.
Hee had interr'd two Queens within this place ;
And this Townes Housholders in his liues space
Twice ouer ; but at length his owne turne came,
What he for others did ; for him the same
Was done : No doubt his Soule doth liue for ay
In Heauen : though heere, his Body's clad in clay.*

Whilst I was busying my Selfe in taking heereof, there entred 4. old Almsmen, whose age and calling, promised a further, perfect and fuller relation of this Giganticke Church Officer : Of them I inquir'd and began to read these Lines, *You see* &c. They suddenly answer'd me ; Oh, would wee could see his Picture as well as wee know his Person ! By which darke Riddle, I soone perceiu'd that they were all depriu'd of sight ; these good old blind Men told me

fo. 38ob.

¹ Peterborough Citty. The Cathedrall. Bishop Dee ; Dr. Towers, Deane ; Sir Jo. Lambe, Chancellor ; Dr. Pocklington ; Dr. Williamson ; Mr. Somers ; Mr. Swift, and [blank] more Prebends ; 8. Vicars ; 8. Laymen ; 8. Boyes.

many pretty passages of this sturdy old Lad, and acted them so to Life, as if hee had nott beene dead, nor they blind.

From thence I was tould away to their Cathedrall prayers, where Organs and Voyces were but indifferent, which done I went to view the Monuments therein.

The first I saw was a blind Bishop, and an old Hoodwink'd Monke; who was the first Bishop: John the last Abbot, his Statue in Freestone vpon a Marble Tombe, South, aboue the Quire; The other, North, right against him in blew Marble. Next the Mourning Hearses of 2. vnfortunate memorable great Princesses that were interr'd heere, viz^t. Queene Katherine, Dowager of Spaine; And

Mary Queen of Scotland, our late renowned Kings Mother, whose body his Maiestie caus'd to be remou'd from this Fenny Soyle, to his Royall Predecessors Chappell att Westminster; to rest there among those Heroicke Bones, in that precious Fabricke; for which the poore vergers in this Church mourne onely with her Scutchions, which yields to them but a sad and disconsolate prospect.

The fayre Grauestone of Prelate Adams, thus insculpt

M. semel, x. trina, ter, et sex, i. quoque bina.

Beyond the high Altar (which the foresayd last Abbot did build, the Partition being lofty and rich) are the Monuments of Sir Humphry Orme and his Lady, 7. Sons and 8. Daughters: Sir Henry his Son, his Lady and their Children in their kneeling postures, but both the knights in their Martiall weeds.

South of the Quire lies an old Abbott in blew Marble.

North thereof is Dame Amy's faire Chappell 40. Paces long, the Sieling aboue is all richly gilt; and a place adioyning to it where She liu'd an Anchoresse.

On the North side of the Crosse Ile, is lately erected a very neat and fayre Monument of Marble, whereon lyeth a milke white Doue, with his long white Beard, in his Pontificall Robes, his Statue of Alabaster, delineated and caru'd to the Life, couer'd ouer with a large faire Stone of Touch, supported by 4. Marble Pillers. At his head, betweene the Monument he lyes on, and the said Touchstone couer, is the Miter, the Armes of the Church, and 2. Doues, and the Statues of the 4. vertues in Alabaster; crosse at his feete, is an Anotomy in a Sheet; also a Library, neatly and artificially cut.

Neere this is a Monument without any Statue for one Mr. Worme,

with whose name the Poet desir'd, it seemes, to try his skill,
by way of Allusion, thus.

Vermis edat vermem credas ? cum vermibus exce est

Vermis : sic vermis vermibus esca manet.

Vermis edat vermem ? haud credas, cum vermibus ipse est

Vermis, nec vermis vermibus esca manet.

Sic est, sic non est, verum est hunc esse beatam (sic)

Vermibus absque suis, vermibus atque suis.

fo. 381.

/In the Church is the fayre Grauestone of Abbot Ramsey, with a
Ram thereon.

Next I went into the Cloyster, which for her Structure is faire
and large, and for her windowes, she excells any other Cloyster in
England, and because they so farre preceed, giue me leaue to tres-
passe vpon your patience in the reere of my Journey to open their
Casements, and giue you a small light how I found them curiously
pourtray'd and painted. Thus :

In one Quarter.

The Chaos.

The Creation.

Adam and Eue

driuen out of Para-
dise.

Cain killing Abell.

Lamech killing Cain.

Noahs Arke.

He builds an Altar.

Plants a vinyard

He is made drunke.

Babells Tower bui[]t

3. Angells appeare to
Abraham.

Sodome burnt.

Abraham offering his
son Isaac.

Esau hunting.

Jacobs Ladder.

He wrastles with the
Angell.

The Historie of
Joseph.

Old Simeon.

King Herod slayes
the Infants.

Christ disputing in
the Temple.

John baptising.

The Deuill tempts
Christ, settis him
on a Pinacle.

Stones made bread.

Christs transfigura-
tion.

He rayseth Lazarus.
Rides to Jerusalem.

Eats the Passouer.

Prayes in the Garden.
Judas betrayes him.

The Soldiers appre-
hend him.

He is mockt, whipt
and scourg'd.

He carries his owne
Crosse.

24. Kings more from
him to King Wil-
liam the Conqueror

And in the 4th Quar-
ter west of the said
Cloyster,

King Wulphere.

Peda and Etheldred
sons of King Penda,
Founders also of
this Church.

Ethelwold, Bishop of
Winchester.

Abbot Aidulph.

King Edgar, both
great Benefactors
to her.

The History of St.
Chad and his Chil-
dren.

Cum multis alijs.

Moses by the Bush.	Hee is crucify'd.
The Law deliuered.	Hee is taken downe.
The Arke carry'd	Hee is layd in the
ouer Jordan.	Sepulcher.
Sampson and the	Hee descends into Hell.
Lion.	Hee rises the 3 ^d . day.
David and Goliath.	Mary goes to the
Absolon hang'd.	Sepulcher.
Solomons Temple.	The Box of Oyntment.
Job's condition.	Christ's apparition.
Old Tobias.	The Disciples to-
	gether.
	Thomas puts his fin-
	ger into his wounds.
In another Quarter.	His Ascension.
The Angells appeare.	
Christs birth.	In the 3 ^d Quarter.
The Shepheards.	King Penda (<i>sic</i>) the
The 3. wise men.	first Founder of
They are led away.	this Church.

There are many other great vast Buildings and very spacious, on the South side of the sayd Cathedrall, that in times of yore haue florish'd, as by those stately Structures appeares. And on the top of the Cathedrall, to which I ascended, and thence did behold about me a little Kingdome of Marishes and Fenns, wherein were quarter'd many Regiments of Cattell; and her 2. old neighbouring, watry and plegmaticke Sisters, Crowland and Ely, with their tatter'd and ragg'd blew Azure Mantles about them, which Time and Age made soe decrepit. Heere was I satisfy'd/enough fo. 381b. with their sight, without marching to them, hauing nott long sithence beene full gorg'd with them. And although I doe not carry you to them, yet giue me leaue a little to transgresse in the latter end of my Journey, hauing them in my sight to racke your Patience, and to tell you how I then found them.

They are an equilibrarian Plantation of Earth and water. And the First¹ is seated in an odd nooke, the very Rump end of 3. Shires in an vnhealthfull, raw, and muddy Land, whither no People of fashion have recourse, but to their Ducking sport in moulting time, which is a season that yeelds rare content and excellent sport;

¹ Crowland.

the like whereof is not elsewhere in the whole Kingdome ; To see a Fleet of 100. or 200. Sayle of Shell-boats and Skerry-Punts sayling and in the pursuit of a Rout of Fowle, driuing them like Sheep to their Netts, as sometimes they take a pretty feather'd Army Prisoners 2. or 3000. at one draught, and giue no quarter.

This Sport had need giue good content (as indeed it doth) for the beastly nasty Towne, stinking Dyett, the rugged Condition and debauch'd Manners of the People giue but little, all alike neither sweet, cleane, nor good.

Their Drink is vnholosome, onely their high and mightie Crowland Sacke, they so much boast off ; which is of that strength and Spirit, that it soone sends their best qualify'd and worst vilify'd Inhabitants (before their time) into a drowsy and dead sleep, which they hold very conuenient and necessary to auoyd the diuellish stinging of their humming Gnatts, which is all the Towne Musicke they haue, as is able to put a man into a Waspish Feauer, as that Strong-Water-Sacke is, into a drowsy sleep.

These aquaticke Inhabitants are well prouided for their Gouvernment, Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill ; for the 2. maine Heads in her, Master Parson and Master Bayliffe, rule and gouerne them very wisely with Dussey, a King noddle Pate, who are so valiant, as they scorne to come in the Reere of these Bacchanalian Skirmishes, but will be Frontiers and File-Leaders in the Battell, till they are vnable to lead at all, or to keepe Ranke and File, at any true distance, without the staggering, shatter'd help of graue Master Deacon, their Bringer vp : they are quicke and desperate Dischargers, and handle their Armes nimbly with Powder and Shot, I meane their lowsy poore Ale, and hot heady Sacke.

For the rest of their ragged Regiment, they are so disorder'd, that I know not what to make of them, I thinke they be halfe Fish, half Flesh, for they drinke like Fishes, and sleep like Hogges ; and if the Men be such Creatures, iudge what their women are, such as are neither worth medling with nor heere inserting, but how both Men and women are able to subsist in Winter exceeds my reach.

Their Climate is so infinitely Cold and Watry ; their Habitations so poore and meane ; their meanes so small and scant ; their Dyett so course and sluttish ; and their Bodies so lazie and intemperate, that in spite of all these, they liue to verely the old Prouerbe for their Name sake, *No Carrion will kill a/Crow*. Well, to leaue them, which I hardly can leaue well, let me speake a little of the Towne

it Selfe, wherein, (hauing giuen you such a Character of the Inhabitants) itt were not good manners to detaine you long.

Nature hath done her part in prouiding well to keep the Towne and them in it, cleanly; the Scytuation thereof being att the confluence of 3. streames, that spread forth their Armes from an vnusual Triangular Stone Bridge of rare workmanship, in the middst of the Towne, deuiding her into 3. Quarters, but in none of them could I find good Quarter.

For that reason I left them, and hastened to their Church, which promis'd outwardly a very large, faire and Cathedrall like structure, but inwardly very poorely and vnhandsomely kept and maintayn'd, both for her Adornment and Pastor²: I could neither see nor heare of any Benefactors she hath, but onely those old and weather-beaten Kings, in their durable Freestone Robes, whose Statues are mounted on the west Frontispice of this Fabricke without and their new painted Angells within.

As for Master Parson, I tooke him neither for Puritan, Papist nor good Protestant, but such a fat tun-belly'd puffy-quarter'd Chuffe, as thinkes he has done well, if once a Terme hee affords a Sermon, for more then once a Quarter he sayes, will ouerlay their watry, queasy Stomackes, neither will his meanes, nor his stomacke, digest any more. If Mr. Parsons be so small, you may imagine Master Deacons to be very poore, as indeed it is; which (with their Ale-house scores) makes them both to be very meanly clad and patcht, although not like Churchmen, yet like that old decaying Church, where I'le leaue them as I found them, and bring you to the Other.

This Place¹ is farre better qualify'd in respect it is a City, and in it an ancient and once famous flourishing Cathedrall, with 2. Churches more, yet must I tell you that most of her Inhabitants haue butt a turfy sent and Fenny posture about them, which smell I did not relish at all with any content.

Away then I hastened to the Cathedrall,² which time and age haue much defac'd. For a Minster and Lanthorne she may compare for workmanship, and a faire Land-marke, with any of this Kingdome: As she hath beene rob'd of Princely Dignity and meanes; So her Church Gouvernors are much eclips'd and gelded of their

¹ Ely Citty.

² The Cathedrall, Bishop White; Dr. Cæsar, Deane; Dr. Wigmore, Arch-deacon; 8. Prebends; 8 Vicars; 8. Singing Men; 8. Boyes, 24 Kings Schollers.

Diuidents and Perquisites : Her cheife Gouvernor the Bishop doth still retaine a good Reuenue and a Princely commaund in his owne Palatine Diocesse, whose spacious Pallace is plac'd neere to this old Minster, but much ruinated and decay'd, and drooping for very Age.

Many old Monuments of Marble and Freestone there are in this old decaying Structure, viz^t.

The Monument of John de Hotham ; Bishop Redmayne ; Bishop Hugh of Norwald, and Bishop Gray.

Also the Monument of a Bishop, that dyed beyond Sea. And of Another Bishop that was Lord Chancellor.

A Monument for the old Eârle of Worcester and his 2. wiues.

fo. 382b.

/But of most speciall note, and most remarkable, were those two neat and rich Chappells, built at the East end beyond the Quire.

The one of them was built by Bishop Alcocke, wherein is his owne Monument, in his Pontificall Weeds ; but very much defac'd, and abus'd.

The other was built by Bishop West, wherein round about were the Statues and Effigies of Christ, the virgin Mary, the 12. Apostles and ancient Fathers, artificially caru'd, and richly gilt, but disarm'd, dislegg'd and beheaded, by some who preferr'd their owne Lucre before the Churches adornement, and thought it no Robbery, no nor Sacriledge at all, to rob and dismantle her of those rich Joint-Tennants belonging to her.

Thus have some impious hands dealt with this once famous and most flourishing Church, in robbing and despoyling her of her comely Ornaments, rich Adornments, goodly Reuenue, and Liberall Maintenance. And in this deplorable Condition must I leaue her and bring you backe againe to her Sister Peterborough.

Being comed thither, I could not stay there, but in hast troop'd away as well as I could, ouer those shaking Quagmires and rotten Fennes to Guyhurne, where I saw a numerous Company of lusty, stout, sweating Pioniers hard at worke, digging, deluing, casting vp and quartering out new Streames and Riuers, to gaine ground, and to make that large Continent of vast, foggie, miry, rotten, and vnfruitfull Soyle, vsefull, fruitfull and beneficiall, and for the aduantage of the Common wealth.

From thence I march'd all along by their new made Channell, and fairely and safely arriu'd at Wisbitch ; and there sluc'd and clos'd vp my westerne Trauells, at that ingeniously finish'd Sluce ;

where the last Summer, my Selfe, with my 2. Camrades, began our Northerne Journey, after we march'd out of our Country, hauing in this my Occidentall Journey, equall'd the former, with traueilling the like number of Miles, and in the same processe of time, though not with the same number of Counties, Cittys and Townes.

And now to giue you a cast vp Account of this my sayd tr[a]uelling Journey, take it in breife thus.

In 7. weekes time, I march'd through but 7. Shires, or Counties (besides those wee toucht vpon the last Summer) trauell'd 700. and odd Miles; view'd 7. Citties, and in them 7. Cathedralls, 7. Ports, 7. Islands, with the 2. ancient, tatter'd, barren Townes, 7. Earles Habitations, 7 times 7. Corporations, and iust soe many ancient Castles, strong Forts, and defensible Bulwarkes; which prou'd (as really I found it) a Journey of Jubilees. The exact particular of all the Septenaries I haue collected, and exhibited them in a short compend to your obseruation, giuing you their seuerall Names, and the seuerall Shires and Places, where each of them are.

	Essex.		Rochester.
	Kent.		Canterbury.
The 7.	Sussex.	The 7. Citties and	Chichester.
Counties	Hampshire	7. Cathedralls.	Winchester.
or Shires.	Dorsetshire.		Salisbury.
	Deuonshire.		Exeter.
	Huntingtonshire.		Peterborough.
The 7.	/Sandwich,	The 7.	Louingland in Suffolke. fo. 383.
	Douer,		Shepey,
	Hith,		Thanet.
	Rumney.		Wight, in Hampshire.
Cinque	} in Kent.	Islands.	Purbecke, } in Dorset-
Ports.			Portland. } shire.
	Hastings,		Isle of Ely, in Cam-
	Rye,		bridgeshire.
	Winchelsey,		
	{ in Sus-		
	sex (sic)		
	Arundell Castle, the Earle of Arundells,		} in Sussex.
	Petworth, the Earle of Northumberlands,		
	Tichfeild, the Earle of Southamptons,		} in Hampshire.
The 7. Earles	Amesbury, the Earle of Hartfords,		
Habitations.	Wilton, the Earle of Pembrokes.		} in Wiltshire.

	Lulworth, the Earle of Suffolkes,	in Dorsetshire.
	Exeter, the Earle of Bedfords,	in Deuonshire.
	Yarmouth in Norfolke.	Poole
	Dunwich	Warrham
	Aldbrough } in Suffolke.	Stowberry
	Orford	Corfe
	Harwich	Weymouth
	Colchester } in Essex.	Dorchester
	Maldon	Lime
	Grauesend	Exeter
	Rochester	Bradnidge
	Quinborough	Taunton
	Feuersham	Bridgewater
	Sittingburne } in Kent.	Wells
	Canterbury	Bath
	Sandwich	Salisbury
The 7. times 7. Corpora- tions.	Douer	Old Sarum
	Hith	Wilton
	Rumney	Malmesbury
	Rye	Banbury in Oxfordshire.
	Winchelsey	Northampton
	Hastings	Peterborough
	Lewes	in Northamptonshire
	Shoram	
	Bramber	
	Arundell	
	Chichester	
	Portsmouth	
	Winchester	
	Southampton	in Hamp- shire.
	Newport	
	Yermouth	

fo. 383b.

Yermouth Fort in Norfolke.
 Orford Castle } in Suffolke.
 Langor Fort. }
 Harwich Fort
 Colchester Castle } in Essex.
 Maldon Fort }
 Tilbury Blockhouse }

	Grauesend Blockhouse	
	Rochester Castle	
	Quinborough Castle	
	Canterbury Castle	
	Sandwich Fort	
	Sandowne Castle	} in Kent.
	Deale Castle	
	Weymer Castle	
	Douer Castle	
	Two Forts more,	
	Sandgate Castle	
The Castles and Forts	Rye Fort	
	Hastings Bulwarke	
	Pensey Castle	} in Sussex.
	Lewes Castle	
	Bramber Castle	
	Arundell Castle	
	Portsmouth Fort and Bulwarke	
	Porchester Castle	
	Southsey Castle	
	Winchester Castle	
	Southampton Castle	} in Hampshire.
	St. Andrewes Castle	
	Nettley Castle	
	Hurst Castle	
	Cashocke Castle	
	Yermouth Castle	
	Cowes Castle	} in the Ile of Wight in Hampshire
	Carisbrooke Castle	
	Poole fort	
	Corfe Castle in the Ile of Purbecke	
	Portland Castle	} in Dorsetshire.
	Weymouth Castle	
	Lulworth Castle	
	Bindon Castle	} in Dorsetshire.
	Lime Fort	
	Exeter Castle	in Deuonshire.
	Taunton Castle	in Somersetshire.

The Castles	Northampton Castle	} in Northamptonshire.
and Forts.	Fotheringay Castle	
	Wisbitch Castle in	} in Cambridgeshire.
	the Ile of Ely	

And now these two 7. weekes Journalls through the quondam Heptarchy being met and clos'd together, are able a little to delineate and set forth, the sweet and excellent Scytuation of this our Natiue flourishing Kingdome; the Seas High Admirall; with her gentile, affable, curteous, and ciuill Inhabitants; her deepe trench'd, naturally fortify'd, incircled Wall, against all hostile Inuasions; beset and guarded with so many offenseue and defenseue Castles, strong and impregnable Forts, Blockhouses, and Bulwarkes; besides the glory of our Island, our Shipping; especially that part, which lords it on the Maine, as Soueraigne Lady thereof, the well equipped Fleet and Nauy Royall, surely ingirting her; her many commodious and braue Hauens, Bayes, Ports, Harbours, and Channells, safe both for arriuage and transportation in and out of her owne Inhabitant Pilots, though not to Strangers. Her sweet, delightfull, well compacted, peaceable, ciuill, and gallant Citties, and pleasant Townes; her Stately and magnificent Structures, rich and beautifull Edifices; both in City and Country. Her lofty, faire and goodly, sanctify'd Churches; Her delightfull Streames and most excellent Riuers that waters, quarters and glides through her Bowells; Here rare vnparalleld Gouernment, by so many discrete, iudicious, generous, and heroicke worthy Sages, both in Church and Common-wealth; bred vp vnder the tutele of those famous nurseries of Religion and Law, the Vniuersities and the Inns of Court; And all these multiply'd enioyments and blessings made better to vs, in that wee haue that vnexpressible happinesse to liue vnder soe good, soe iust, soe wise, soe prudent, soe vertuous and soe piously religious a Prince, who soe prudently secures and graciously provides for the Peace, quietnes, safety and tranquillity of all his People.

To know all well, who can want that commendable Ambition to know their owne Country aright? And such as doe, and haue bene eye witnesses of those temporall Blessings, and vnequall'd Happinesse, reciprocally imparted, and impartially distributed to Poore and Rich; are truly able to giue her, her true desert and merit, and against all Obiections to yeild vp a verdict of Truth, that we liue, breath, and haue our beeing in a second Paradise, a

delightfull Garden, and a plentifully furnish'd Magazine and Store-house of all terrestriall felicitie and sublunary happinesse ; so that I may truly say, we liue in a glorious peace/able kingdom and fo. 384b. blessed Nation, honour'd and admir'd, a Nation renowned and famous in all kingdomes and States for valour and magnanimitie ; a Nation that is reputed (and iustly too) the Mistresse Canaan throughout the whole world.

To conclude in a word, She is the Idea of true and essentiall delight and felicitie ; soe inrich'd and ouermantled with Plenty and Pleasures ; soe happie, glorious and triumphant, with such high excellent and indulgeating Prerogatiues and remarkable singular Blessings, as makes all Strangers ouer the whole face of the Vniuerse to gaze and wonder ; and whilst some of our neighbour Nations are enuious, considering our felicitie ; other some doe court our freindship, reflecting vpon our vnanimitie ; And heere with their admiration will I close vp my Itineration, with this short eiaculation

*Oh formosa, triumphans, fortunata, resplendens
Insula, Regio, magna Britannia, gloria Mundi.*

NOTES

- Title page* In 1635 4 August fell on a Tuesday.
- p* 1, *par* 3, *l* 1. The name of this hundred of Suffolk is more usually spelt Lothingland, which might well have given rise to conceits in an opposite sense
- par* 3, *l* 3. Sir John Wentworth's house was Somerleyton Hall (see for all this Alfred Suckling, *Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*, 1848, Vol. II, p 48).
- par* 3, last lines This mixture of metaphors is the most remarkable in the work
- par* 4, *l* 2. Mutford Bridge: Suckling notes (*Suffolk*, I, 274) that there was once a considerable stream known as Willingham water which divided the hundreds of Mutford and Blything here, but that the channel has been silted up.
- par* 4. "Leystoffe" is of course Lowestoft The sickness (plague or sweating sickness) carried off 170 persons in 1635 out of a population estimated at a little over 1,000 (Suckling, *Suffolk*, II, 63).
- p* 2, *par* 1, *l* 2. The Boone Parson, according to Suckling (Vol. I, p 287) was Edward Bonn presented in 1634 by Sir Thomas Playters
- par* 3, *l* 1. Sould is Sole or Southwold.
- par* 3, *l* 2 Cottice, possibly South Cove
- par* 3, *l* 8 For St Felix see *D.N.B.* A long account of the former splendours of Dunwich by Stow is printed in Suckling, *Suffolk*, Vol II, pp 245-52 The story that there were 52 churches there is said to be a myth
- par* 4, *l* 1. Midsummer Haven is presumably Minsmere Haven: Sisesam must be Sizewell: New Eastbridge is now a mile or more west of Minsmere Haven
- p* 3, *l* 1. "Pease Rock beach" is presumably what is now known as Sudbourne Beach leading to Orford Ness and Orford Beach, a belt of shingle behind which the Ore flows for several miles parallel to the sea-coast before it debouches.
- par* 2, *l* 1 Butley ferry is about two miles south-west of Orford. The abbey is about a mile to north-west of the ferry.
- Basey ferry: Bawdsey ferry, now Felixstowe ferry.
- Langor point: Landguard Point; the fort was erected under James I See Thomas Wright, *History of the County of Essex*, London, 1836, Vol II, p 817. For its condition in 1635, cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p 121.

Captain Cammock may have been a relative of George Camocke the Irish admiral in the Spanish service, defeated by Admiral Byng at Cape Passaro in 1718. He was of Essex extraction

- p. 4. "An Attorney's two-term fee": I do not know what is the exact meaning of this. Dr G. R. Y. Radcliffe points out to me that the *Practicle Part of the Law*, which was the best known practitioner's guide in the seventeenth century, suggests two meanings. (1) the fee of 4*d.* paid each term by an attorney to the Clerk of the warrants for entering his name on the roll of the Court, (2) a standing fee of 5*s.* 4*d.* in every case in every term which the attorney charged his client; but as he says, this seems extortionate beyond measure. Yet if he means 8*d.* why does not our author say "two term fees" instead of "a two-term fee"?

Runs down to Ipswich; it will be noticed that the Lieutenant almost always makes rivers run uphill. Cf. for example the rivers at Rye, Southampton and Poole. There is an exception at Salisbury.

Caddaway Bridge is Cattawade Bridge, the lowest over the Stour.

Sir Harbottle Grimston: see *D N B.*

- p. 5. According to Wright, *Essex*, II, p. 781, the market at Manningtree was originally on Mondays. If so the Lieutenant must have taken six days to reach Manningtree. But he expressly states that Canterbury was the end of his first week's travel, consequently it would seem that in 1635 the market was on another day.

The government of Colchester by bailiffs goes back to 1189. Charles I changed it in 1635 to a mayor and aldermen (see Philip Morant, *History and Antiquities of . . . Colchester*, London, 1768, p. 98).

The four gates were Headgate, Northgate, Eastgate and St. Botolph's gate. They were practically destroyed after the siege of 1648, but of the walls, a considerable portion remains.

For the waterworks see Morant, *Colchester*, pp. 1 *et seqq*

Samuel Harsnett: see *D N B.*

Triptuary Heath is Tiptree Heath.

Lords of the Goats. I am unable to explain this allusion, but have to thank Dr. Leaney of the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society and Major Solly of Kelvedon for their enquiries. It appears that there were numerous goats at one time on or near Tiptree. Another suggestion is that 'goats' is a local word for Gipsies.

"Peaceable" because at the birth of Our Lord the whole world was at peace.

Sir Benjamin Aylliffe or Ayloff, of Braxted. He and his son compounded for their estates for £2,000 (*Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*, Vol. II, p. 848).

Here is the best clue to the Lieutenant's identity. For the question see Introduction.

"Near my calling": does this mean that the Lieutenant was a lawyer?

- p. 6. The "ancient monument of the Lord Dacres" is the Darcy chapel or aisle, founded by Robert Darcy of Danbury, *i* Henry IV.

The monument to Mr. Cammock is presumably that to Captain Cammock and his two wives, Ursula and Frances, on the east wall.

There was a substantial family of the name of Wentworth in Essex.

par. 2, l 6 As Robert, last Earl of Sussex, died in 1629 the estate had now passed to his cousin Sir Edward Radcliffe of Elneston.

Danbury . between Maldon and Chelmsford

Sir Henry Mildmay's house was Graces For Sir Henry see *D.N.B.* New Hall, in the parish of Boreham, built by Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, from whom it was inherited by the Boleyns, was for some time the residence of Queen Mary Tudor George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, bought it from the last Earl of Sussex, and it remained in his family till 1734 In the course of the eighteenth century most of it was pulled down and what remains of it is now a nunnery A painted window from the chapel is now the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Much Haddon is an error for Great Baddow

Lord Petre's seat would be Ingatestone, near Brentwood.

- p. 7, par. 2.* "unconquered maiden" because the motto of Kent is *Invicta*
"Cales" is Cadiz

"Extravagant aliens," i.e. vagrant. See *O.E.D., s.v. extravagant.*

Gravesend Blockhouse, unlike its fellow at Tilbury, has long disappeared The town was incorporated not under King Charles, but under Queen Elizabeth

- p. 8, par. 3.* The stone bridge at Rochester was first built under King Richard II, and was pulled down in 1856. For Sir Robert Knolles, and Archbishop Henry Deane (d. 1503), see *D.N.B.*

"The water noiseth." Cf. Edw. Hasted, *History . . . of Kent*, 1798, Vol. I, p. 278, "At Rochester Bridge, where the tide of this river becomes exceeding rapid, foaming with great noise as it passes through." There are many references in history to the rush of the tide through London Bridge and the attendant danger, but the noise made is not so frequently noticed

par. 4. The keep of Rochester Castle was built by William de Corbeil, *temp.* Henry I.

note. For John Bowle or Bowles, the bishop, and for Walter Balconquhall, the dean, see *D.N.B.*

- p. 9, par. 1.* The account of the Cathedral here given may be contrasted with what Hasted (*Kent*, Vol. IV, p. 105) says about the structure, viz. that Archbishop Laud reported in 1633 that it "suffered much for want of glass in the church windows", and the organ is stated to have been "erected early in the last" (*sc.* 17th) "century and is but a very indifferent instrument" (p. 102). Presumably the organ admired by the Lieutenant was not spared during the rebellion.

par. 3. The two bishops would be Lawrence de St. Martin (d. 1274) on the north side and Thomas de Inglethorp (d. 1291) on the south. The tomb of Gundulf (see *D.N.B.*) is considered to be under the black slab south of the high altar

Walter de Merton, founder of Merton College, Oxford (see *D.N.B.*), was buried near the wall in the eastern transept, against the north wall.

William Streaton (d. 1609) was buried near the east wall of the north transept; according to the inscription on his monument, he had been nine times Mayor of Rochester, i.e. "commander of the silver oar."

Sir Alexander Temple's monument is not apparently mentioned by Hasted among those in the Cathedral, and it seems likely that it disappeared before the eighteenth century

The "venerable shrine of St William" is immediately to the east of the tomb of Walter de Merton

I am unable to determine who was the Lord Forster here mentioned. It can scarcely be Lord Forrester of Corstorphine, created in 1633, and there seems to be nobody else

The present Palace is the same building and was recently bought back for the Bishop by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

p. 10, note. "Grun Island" is Grain Island.

note. What remained of Queenborough Castle was pulled down by the purchaser of it during the Commonwealth.

The body of King Stephen was taken up for the lead of his coffin under Henry VIII and thrown into the creek.

The ambassador was John, Viscount Scudamore, who had just been appointed (see *DNB*).

p. 11, note For Dr Isaac Bargrave, the dean, Sir Nathaniel Brent, Dr. Thomas Paske, Dr. Thomas Jackson, accepted Frewen (not Fuell), Dr. Pierre du Moulin, and Meric Casaubon, see *DNB*. William Kingsley died in 1648; John Warner, in 1637, made Bishop of Rochester, died in 1666, of John Jefferys little seems to be known except that he was admitted in 1629, Thomas Westley was admitted in 1630, and died about 1639, Humphrey Peak was appointed in 1632, Thomas Bletchinden was appointed in 1631 and ejected in 1642, and John Gerard Vossius, appointed 1629, died 1650.

p. 12. The description of the steps up to the Corona is very confused. The tomb and the Corona, it should be noted, are not the same thing, the tomb being in the middle of the Trinity Chapel and the Corona at the extreme east end of the building.

The window suffered irreparable damage later at the hands of Richard Culmer commonly called "Blew Dick." J. Dart (*History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726) does not mention this offer of Gondomar in his description of the window.

p. 13, par 1. The Lieutenant's chronology is here more seriously at fault than usual

"his," i.e. Becket's.

par. 2 An Atempérance seems to be a railing, but the word is not in the *Oxford English Dictionary*

Engravings of most of these monuments may be seen in J. Dart, *Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, and those of Archbishop Stratford, the Black Prince and King Henry IV, in C. A. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, London, 1817.

The tomb of Nicholas Wotton (see *DNB*) is to the east of that of King Henry IV.

Archbishop Courtenay (see *DNB*) lies to the east of the Black Prince

The tomb of Odo Coligny, bishop designate of Beauvais and Cardinal Castillon is to the east of Courtenay's. He fled to England because of his Huguenot proclivities, and is reported to have died of a poisoned apple on his way back to France in 1568.

The chair of St. Augustine was moved in the eighteenth century to the Corona.

For Archbishop Odo, see *D.N.B.* "Severus" is doubtless a confusion with Selvius, another archbishop altogether, who was buried by the high altar

- p. 14. For Archbishops Thomas Bouchier, John Stratford, John Kemp, and Henry Chichele, see *D.N.B.*

The tomb here attributed to Sudbury is now recognized to be that of Simon of Meopham (see *D.N.B.*) Sudbury's (see *D.N.B.*) is against the south wall of the quire.

The tomb of Hubert Walter (see *D.N.B.*) is now known to be in the south aisle of the Trinity chapel. It was opened, without much skill, in 1890. It is not known who is buried in the tomb here described as Hubert Walter's.

The tomb of Archbishop Reynolds (see *D.N.B.*) is immediately to the west of that last mentioned.

- p. 15. St Michael's (or The Warriors') chapel opens out of the east wall of the South transept. Sir Thomas Thornhurst died in 1627; his wife was Barbara, coheirress of Thomas Shirley, and three daughters (not two) are commemorated.

Archbishop Stephen Langton's tomb is at the east end of the chapel, and projects beyond the wall.

Sir James Hales' monument is in the south-east corner. He died in 1589.

For Thomas, Duke of Clarence and his Duchess, see *D.N.B.*

Katharine Drake was the widow of Nicholas Drake, and daughter of William Tothill who had this monstrous family. She survived them all.

The Archbishop was not thrown over the stairs, which were not there in his day. The murder took place at the south-eastern corner of the north transept, and the site was marked by an altar known as that of the Sword Point, near the spot where the point of the sword of William Le Breton, broken off in the murder of the Archbishop, was picked up. With the *Corona* it was the most noted relic of the "saint."

For Archbishop William Warham see *D.N.B.*

- p. 16. John de Ufford was Archbishop-Elect (see *D.N.B.*)
Dr. Chapman's monument. above the site of the altar of the Sword Point.

For John Stafford see *D.N.B.* He lies in front of the door of the Lady Chapel.

For Martin Fotherby, John Boys and Richard Rogers, see *D.N.B.*

Archbishop Simon Islip, see *D.N.B.* His tomb, which is shown in Dart, *ut sup.*, used to be in the nave between the piers on the north side. The catalogue of the vestments and plate he bequeathed may be found in J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, London, 1902, p. 95.

Archbishop Thomas Arundell (see *D.N.B.*)

The Arundel steeple (the north-west tower) had to be pulled down in the nineteenth century owing to its decay.

- p. 17. Serjeant William Lovelace, high steward of the liberties of Christ Church, who died 1576.

Sir John Boys (d. 1612) founder of a hospital in the town that goes by his name.

For all his love of music, the Lieutenant does not mention the monument of Orlando Gibbons who died in 1625.

The two " anchoresses " are probably Joan Lady Mohun and Isabel Countess of Athole (d. 1292).

For Archbishop Morton see *D.N.B.* His tomb suffered severely at the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers.

The dark cloister is the passage known as the Dark Entry leading from the cloisters to the Green Court on the north side of the Church mentioned in the *Ingoldsby Legends*.

- p. 18, par 2. Lady Wotton presumably is the widow of Edward, 1st Baron Wotton (for whom see *D.N.B.*). She died in 1652.

King Ethelbert's tower was pulled down in 1793. The refectory has also been demolished.

St Augustine's gate is the entrance gate to St. Augustine's College; built by Abbot Fyndon in 1300. The kitchen seems likewise to have disappeared.

- p. 19. St. Pancras' chapel seems to have fallen into ruins between 1722 and 1784.

St Martin's Like St. Pancras' chapel, it contains traces of Roman work in its masonry, and the font is by tradition reputed to be that in which Ethelbert was baptized.

par 1 King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria were married in Canterbury Cathedral on 13 June 1625.

God's field maker For the story of Archbishop Cuthbert and the right of sepulture see Hasted, *Kent*, Vol. XI, p. 526, and XII, 281.

- p. 20. Sir John Hales was paymaster of the band of gentlemen pensioners in 1635 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I.*, 1635, p. 267). It is more likely that Sir Edward Hales is intended (*ibid.*, p. 368).

Sir William Brockman was sheriff in 1643.

There is a monument to Sir Edward Master in St. Michael's Chapel. He died 1648.

Dungill, i.e. the Danejohn or Daneshill. I know not whether to ascribe this degrading perversion of the name given in the text to the Lieutenant or his transcriber.

Sir Christopher Mann was owner of part of the lands of the nunnery of St. Sepulchre's, near St. Augustine's Abbey.

Sir John Fotherby was buried in the Cathedral in 1666.

Captain Wild should be the son of Sir John Wild who was buried in the Cathedral in 1635.

It is most remarkable that the meeting, or proximity of Captain Hammond and Lieutenant Hammond should be passed by without any outburst of rhetoric. There is a reference to a Kentish " Captain Hamond the mustermaster " in *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I.*, 1637, p. 443. There is a memorial in the Cathedral to a Mrs. Jane Hammond, apparently about this date. She may have been some relation (Hasted, *History of . . . Kent*, Vol. XI, p. 394).

Mr Boise may be the John Boys, gent., who killed Thomas Alcock,

gent., and the indictment for murder was endorsed *bulla vera* whereas the jury had directed it should be manslaughter only in 1629. For this the chamberlain's clerk was fined £10. More likely he is the Edward Boys whom "Blue Dick" slandered this year (see *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p. 368).

Mr. Hards is probably one of the Hardresses of Hardress.

Mr. Lad is possibly Lade. A man of this name was deputy-recorder of Canterbury in 1659.

There was a Thomas Denne who was recorder in 1643.

- p. 21. "Virga Aaron" appears as one of the relics in the inventories of Christ Church in 1315 (see *Inventories, ut sup.*, p. 82). Thus there may have been two specimens in Canterbury.

par. 2. There was a pier in Leland's time, but "sore decayed." An account of the organization for keeping the pier in repair may be seen in Hasted (*ut sup.*, Vol. X, pp. 317 *et seqq.*). The present pier is the work of John Rennie the engineer.

par. 3. 5 gates. Only the Fisher-gate survives.

The school buildings were built in 1564, but the school itself has been moved away.

par. 3. For Sir Roger Manwood, see *D.N.B.*

- p. 22, par. 1. The founder of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is said to have been Sir Henry de Sandwich in 1244.

par. 2. The monument to Thomas Ellis (founder of Ellis' or St. Thomas' Hospital) is now the most important monument in the church.

par. 3. Hasted (*Kent*, Vol. X, p. 164) says the mayor of Sandwich "carries a black wand in his hand, as a badge of office, the same as the mayor of Fordwich, a member of this port, probably for some delinquency committed by the mayor of this place; for all the other ports, and their members corporate, bear white ones."

par. 4. Sandown Castle: pulled down in 1864 owing to sea-encroachment.

par. 5. The *Lion's Whelps* was the designation of a number of vessels, distinguished from each other by numbers. The *First Whelp* was commanded by Captain Anthony Penruddocke. Captain John Fletcher commanded the ship *William and Thomas* (see *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1634-5, p. 604).

- p. 23, par. 4. Weymore Castle is Walmer Castle.

For Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, and Lord Poulett (the latter was knighted on board ship a few weeks later on 27 September) see *D.N.B.*

For Lord Conway, see *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

note. The captains of Sandown Castle and Deal Castle were Sir John Pennington and William Bing (*Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p. 40, where the former gets £1,243 16s. and the latter £1,634 11s. 4d. for the repair of the castle). The captain of Walmer was Edward Lisle (*ibid.*), who received £1,494 10s.

The Spanish Masquerade: for the military use of this word see *O.E.D.*

- p. 24, par. 3. This gun is known as Queen Elizabeth's pocket pistol, but was apparently given by Charles V to Henry VIII. It is dated 1544.

Bullen is Boulogne

The state apartments in the Keep are on the third story.

The well is now said to be 293 feet deep.

par. 5. The church, after having been abandoned to base uses in the eighteenth century, is now once more used for divine service For Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton, see *D N B*. He was buried in the chapel. Sir Robert Asheton died in 1384. By the time Hasted wrote these monuments had gone. that of Asheton broken up, that of Lord Northampton removed to the chapel of Greenwich Hospital.

note For Theophilus, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, see *D N B*

For Sir Thomas Culpeper, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, see *D N.B.*

"Mr Crips" is Henry Crispe, deputy Lieutenant of Dover Castle (*Cal. S P Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p. 297).

p. 25, par. 5. Gogmagog. The mythical giant who threw his opponent Corin over Plymouth Hoe into the sea

note Captain Anthony Percival commanded the Archcliff Bulwark and was granted £950 (*Cal S P*, 1635, p. 40).

p. 26, par. 1. By the time of Hasted the Admiralty Court of the Lord Warden was kept in St James' Church (Hasted, *Kent*, Vol IX, p. 501) It was a court of chancery as well (see letter to Hubert Hall in *Report to the Royal Commission on Public Records*, 1919, p. 116)

par. 1. The Court-Hall was built in 1623, but has since been destroyed

par. 2 The two churches are St James' and St Mary's

par. 5 The Lieutenant seems to have inverted the order in which he must have passed through Folkestone and Sandgate

par. 8. Of the monuments here mentioned, the "old warrior's" is presumably that which has been ascribed to Sir John de Segrave, Mr Read's is presumably one of that Folkestone family.

par. 9. For a discussion about this legend see Hasted, *History of Kent*, Vol VIII, pp. 423-4.

note. The captain of Sandgate Castle was Richard Hipplesley, who was granted £610 for its repair (*Cal S.P.*, 1635, p. 40).

p. 27, par. 1. This is the acreage of Romney Marsh proper, not of the whole marshland. The Lieutenant's remarks about the economic value of Romney Marsh may be contrasted with those of Hasted (*History of Kent*, Vol. VIII, p. 469) "There are very few oxen fed in Romney Marsh, but mostly sheep, which on an average are about three to each acre . . . The inhabitants of these villages are but of very mean condition, being mostly such as are hired to look after the grounds and cattle"

par. 2 The charter giving wide liberties to the bailiff and jurats of Romney Marsh was issued in 1 Edw. IV. It empowered them to hold a court every three weeks, and all pleas of action, real and personal, civil and criminal. (Hasted, *Kent*, Vol VIII, pp. 471-2)

par. 3 Gulford ferry is Guldeford

To lie ledger: for this phrase, meaning to lie stationary, see *O.E.D.*

p. 28, par. 2. The town having been removed from Old Winchelsea to the present site under Edward I accounts for the regularity of its plan.

It is now the smallest corporate town in England, having a population of only 591 in 1931.

par. 6 There is one monument in the south aisle which can be ascribed to the Oxenbridges, for it bears their arms. The other has no certain identification.

The north quire aisle, besides the "old man o' war" are the effigies of an abbeß and a monk, which are presumably the "ancient bishops"

p. 29, par. 2. Mr. Ashburnham's estate would be Broomham, whose family possessed of the estate under Henry III.

Farry Beacon . i.e. Fairlight Beacon

par. 3. Hastings was incorporated in 1588.

The two churches here mentioned would be All Saints' and St Clement's.

Is it possible that the Lieutenant knew about hus-carles? From the remark about the heptarchy it looks as though he realized the significance of the ealdormanries.

par. 4. Pensey, i.e. Pevensay. According to Thomas Walker Horsfield (*History, Antiquities and Topography of . . . Sussex*, Lewes, 1835, Vol I, p 303) the seal of the town sometimes read "Pemsey."

In Horsfield's day the population was 343. It ceased to be a borough in 1882, and its population in 1931 was 793.

The castle contains much Roman material, and the outer walls may have been part of a Roman fortress, but the inner keep is mediæval.

The "fair habitation of Lord Dacres" in Hurstmonceux.

Borne is what is now known as Eastbourne.

par. 5 "Fuell" is West Frie on the north side of the South Downs, more than half-way from Eastbourne to Lewes.

Sir John Gage: see *D.N.B.*

par. 5 Sir William Howard. This is probably the man who, as Lord Stafford, was one of the victims of Titus Oates (see *D.N.B.*).

p. 30, par. 1. The number of churches has since been reduced to four: St. John's, St Michael's, All Saints', St. Anne's. The fifth was possibly St. Thomas' at Cliffe.

The goodly house of Lord Dorset (Sir Edward Sackville, 4th Earl, for whom see *D.N.B.*) must be the house in the street of Southover, once the residence of Anne of Cleves, and granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Richard Sackville.

par. 3 Bramber Castle is some distance to the north of the direct road from Shoreham to Arundel, but the Lieutenant does not expressly say that he went there.

Arundel Castle was inherited by the FitzAlans from the house of Albini, who had obtained it when William de Albini the first married Addija, the widow of King Henry I. The castle was gutted in the Great Rebellion in 1643, and was not made habitable again until the eighteenth century.

p. 31, par. 2. The "high round tower" is the keep.

The spring, I am informed by our Director, is presumably the "Dairy stream," the subject of litigation many years ago, in the course of which he was called as a witness of a riparian prescription.

- par.* 4. Sir Bevis according to the story vanquished and enslaved a giant called Ascupart
- par.* 5. At the east end of the parish church of St. Nicholas is a "chancel" belonging to an old collegiate chapel
- p.* 32, *par.* 2 These tombs are shortly described in Horsfield, *Sussex*, Vol. II, p 131 In the order given by the Lieutenant they are those of :
- (1) Thomas FitzAlan, 22nd Earl of Arundel (1487-1524). See *Complete Peerage*, s v Arundel
- (2) William FitzAlan, 23rd Earl of Arundel (1524-44). See *Complete Peerage* (For Henry FitzAlan, 24th and by no means "last earl," see *D.N.B.*)
- (3) William FitzAlan, 21st Earl (1438-87), and Joan his wife See *Complete Peerage* See for an engraving, Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, p 101.
- (4) Thomas FitzAlan, 17th Earl (1400-15) See *Complete Peerage*. For an engraving of the tomb see Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, p. 93
- (5) John FitzAlan, 19th Earl of Arundel (1421-35). See *D.N.B.* An "anatomy" is a representation of an emaciated figure The term is also used by the Lieutenant in the description of the tombs of Bishops Fox and Gardiner at Winchester (see p 47) and elsewhere. This sense of the word is not specifically noted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* For an engraving see C. A. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, p 89
- (6) John FitzAlan, 18th Earl, and Eleanor his wife, d of Sir John Berkeley. See *Complete Peerage*.
- p.* 33, *par.* 1 The "fair long building" is presumably the *Maison Dieu* or Hospital of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1380 and destroyed by Waller in 1643
- note.* Badworth Park is to the east, not the west, of Arundel. Solhurst Park is Selhurst.
- Allingbourne is Aldingbourne : the Bishop's residence was destroyed by Waller and his troops when marching to Arundel.
- Sir Garret Kempe's house was Shindon.
- Sir John Chipman should be Sir John Chapman His residence was at West Hampnett.
- par.* 5 The cross still remains, though it was seriously damaged by Waller and his men So far from its having been erected by Bishop Reade (1396-1410), the site was not procured till 1500, when the cross was set up by Bishop Storey
- par.* 6. The line of the walls can still be traced almost throughout. The municipal government here described was granted under King James I
- p.* 34, *note* For Bishop Richard Montague and Dr Richard Steward see *D.N.B.*
- The chancellor was Roger Andrewes, brother to the bishop, the Treasurer, Robert Newell, was appointed in 1610 ; but according to J Dallaway (*History of West Sussex*, London, 1815, part ii, p 109), Dr. William Hutchinson was not appointed Archdeacon of Lewes till 1639.

par. 3 Of the two bishops beyond the high altar, one may possibly be the bishop whom Dallaway identified as St Richard, the other almost certainly is the second bishop of the see, Ralph. For both see *D.N.B.*

See also *D.N.B.* for Bishops Robert Shirborne and Thomas Bickley.

The "other old bishop" is probably Adam Moleyns or Molyneux (see *D.N.B.*).

Mr. Smallpage. Michael Smallpage, d. 1593. It is an alabaster mural monument in the north transept.

par. 7. "Church" here as elsewhere means "nave."

par. 8 For a description of these paintings see J. Dallaway (*ut sup.*), part ii, pp. 123-5. They were much damaged by Waller and his men. The description (quoted in Dallaway, p. 129) says, "they then stole the surplices, and tore the prayerbooks, defaced and mangled the kings and bishops as high as they could reach. One of them picked out the eyes of King Edward the Sixth, saying, that all this mischief came from him, when he established the book of Common Prayer."

p. 35. *par.* 3. The north transept used to be St Peter's parish church. The "Ladies chapel" is now the Library, if its old name of Chapel of the Virgins is what is thus designated, but it is certainly not beyond St Richard's shrine, that is the Lady chapel.

The Arundell's chapel and Ryman's chapel may be the two chapels at the east end of the north and south quire aisles. But Dallaway calls the northernmost of the five aisles of the nave the Arundell chantry.

pars. 5 and 6. The two monuments here mentioned are ascribed to an Earl and Countess of Arundel, and to a Countess of Arundel, possibly Matilda, fl. 1220.

par. 7. According to Dallaway (p. 119) the spire is 271 feet to the finial under the weathercock, the tower to the base of the spire 138 feet.

note. Bozom is Bosham.

Lord Berkeley, George, 8th Lord (1613-58). See *D.N.B.*

Hamker is Halnaker in the parish of Boxgrove, near Goodwood: it was owned by the Morleys from the time of Queen Elizabeth to 1701.

Kingston should be Kingsham, in the parish of St. Pancras, Chichester.

p. 36. *par.* 1. Stanstead: Richard, 1st Viscount Lumley: see *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* Lumley, Richard, 1st Earl of Scarborough.

Meadows (possibly the Mardens). For Edward Montagu, 1st Viscount Montagu, 1621-44, see *D.N.B.*

par. 3. This is an interesting description of the old Petworth which was greatly enlarged by the eighth earl who in six years (1576-82) spent no less than £4,000 on the house. The stables were more famous perhaps than the house itself.

par. 3. The chapel was preserved when the house was rebuilt.

p. 38. *note.* Sir William Goring's house was Burton Hall, south-west of Petworth.

par. 7. The island of Manhood should read the hundred of Manhood, including the parishes of Selsey, Earnley, East and West Wittering, Sidlesham, Berdham and West Itchenor.

- p. 39, *par* 3. Sir — Norton should probably be Sir Richard, and the mill may have been on Windmill Hill, of fame in the history of cricket. In any case the Lieutenant did not come by the direct road from Havant to Portsmouth.
- par* 3. John Felton (see *D.N.B.*) murdered the Duke on 23 August 1628, and was hanged at Tyburn on the 29 November following.
- p. 40, *par* 1. A very modern touch—the registration of guests at an hotel. This was no doubt due to the fact that Portsmouth was a garrison town.
- par* 4. The *Swallow* was a brand new ship in 1635, and almost the crack ship of the Navy. She and the *Leopard* had been detailed to carry Lord Scudamore to France. See *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635 *passim*.
- The *Harry*: if she was a King's ship, it is remarkable that there is no allusion to her in several volumes of the *Cal. of S.P.*
- par* 5. The square tower may be that of the Blockhouse Fort.
- note* Capt. John Mason is the founder of New Hampshire (see *D.N.B.*).
- note*. Godshouse: an old poor house founded by Peter des Roches, and surrendered in 1540. The chapel became the garrison chapel of Portsmouth, and remains so.
- For Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbeldon, see *D.N.B.*
- p. 41, *par* 3. Hellhead is Hill Head, at the mouth of the Meon.
- par* 5. The Wriothesley tomb is in the aisle south of the chancel (see *V.C.H. Hampshire*, Vol. III, pp. 230–1).
- p. 42, *par* 5. Place House, Titchfield, was converted by Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, from an abbey into a private house (see *V.C.H. Hampshire*, III, pp. 222–3). The square-built Court is the cloister; the hall is the old refectory. The house was dismantled in the eighteenth century, and has fallen into a ruinous condition.
- p. 43, *par* 1. The chapel is the old chapter house.
- par* 2. The palace was destroyed in April 1644.
- note*. Sir William Udall or Uvedale's home was at Wickham. He was Treasurer of the King's Chamber and there are many references to him in *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I*.
- I cannot find in *V.C.H. Hampshire* any reference to property held in this hundred by Sir Richard Tichborne.
- par* 3. Hyde abbey was outside the walls on the north: St. Mary's was to the north-east of the Cathedral, somewhere near the site of the present Guildhall.
- p. 44, *par* 2. The bishop is Prelate of the Order of the Garter.
- par* 2. The roof: this refers to the groining or roofing placed under the tower. According to John Milner (*History . . . of Winchester*, Winchester, n.d., Vol. II, p. 37), the tower was originally a lantern, and not filled in till the reign of Charles I.
- par* 3. *The lost panels of the choir stalls* are the subject of an article by Mr. Frank Warren in Winchester Cathedral Records, No. 4, 1935. They disappeared in the troubles. Their existence in 1635 seems to disprove the calm assertion of Dean Kitchin (*Historic Winchester*, London, 1890, p. 191) that it was Thomas Cromwell who swept away all the statues.

- note.* For Waterhouse Curll, bishop of Winchester (1632-47), Thomas Goad, Edward Meetkerke and William Lewis, see *D.N.B.*
- p. 46, par. 2.* The organ was moved to its present position under Charles I. For John Holmes, organist, see *D.N.B.*
- par. 2.* The little wooden gilt coffers are now six, not ten in number. The inscriptions state that they contain the bones of Kings Cynegils, "Adulphus," Egbert, Cenulph, Canute, Rufus, Edmund, Edred, Queen Emma, Bishop Alwyn and Wina.
- p. 47, par. 1.* There is no difference now in the design of the boxes
- par. 3.* It is very doubtful indeed if the tomb commonly called Rufus', ever contained his bones. It is more likely that of an unknown bishop.
- par. 8.* The tomb is that of Bishop de Lucy (1189-1204) for whom see *D.N.B.* The seven pommels are gone, but their places can still be traced
- p. 48, par. 3.* The gravestones of Silkstede and Hunton seem to have disappeared completely.
- par. 4.* These windows have been since destroyed
- ibid.* The chair used to be kept at the end of the last century in Langton's chapel, to the south of the Lady chapel, but it has been removed to Stephen Gardiner's chantry.
- par. 5.* The monument to the Earl of Portland (see *D.N.B.*) is on the south wall of the Angel chapel. Note that the Lieutenant says nothing about the angel frescoes. Sir Thomas Mann's monument does not seem to be any longer at this place
- par. 7.* Duke of Richmond is probably Bishop Courtenay's tomb.
- par. 8.* The "Knight of Rhodes" has since been moved into the ambulatory near the tomb of Cardinal Beaufort. The chapel under the organ is now ascribed to Our Lady of the Pew.
- par. 9.* "Church" means what we should call "nave"
- par. 9.* That Wykeham founded a free school in Paris is new to me. There is no mention of the story in Mackenzie Walcott's life or in Professor Tait's article in *D.N.B.*
- p. 49, par. 3.* Clerk's tomb. This is in the north aisle above Miss Austen's grave and monument; it seems that the inscription has been renewed at a later date, both lettering and spelling having been modernized.
- par. 5.* No monument of this designation seems to be known nowadays, but two or three bays east of the Clerk monument there is a monument in the style of the time of which the inscription has disappeared.
- par. 7.* Presumably these hangings disappeared when the cathedral was wrecked by the Puritans. Archbishop Laud ordered the chapter to procure four copes on 19 June 1635 (see *Cal. S.P.Dom. Car. I.*, 1635, p. 133)
- p. 50, par. 1.* Dr John Harris, Warden of Winchester, 1630-58
- par. 2.* John Wiles, admitted fellow 1617, prebendary of Wells, died 1644.
- par. 2.* The Library is what is known as Fromond's chantry in the middle of Cloisters, a two-storied building, with a chapel on the ground floor, and a library above.
- par. 3.* The name Wolvesey has nothing to do with Cardinal Wolsey. The castle was laid in ruins in 1646, and was made habitable by a

new structure in which the Bishop now lives, built under Charles II to the design of Sir Christopher Wren.

par. 3. What was left of the Castle disappeared, except for the County Hall, when King Charles II built the King's house which was burnt down in 1894.

The County Hall, with King Arthur's Round Table, is the only part of the old castle which remains

p. 51, par. 5. What follows is interesting because it is a description of one of the last eyres of the forest that can have been held.

par. 6. Sir Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland, Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre of the Forests this side Trent: see *D N.B.*

par. 6. Sir John Finch, first Lord Finch: see *D N.B.*

Sir John Bridgeman was Justice of Chester from 1626 to 1638. (George Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, London, 1882, Vol. I, p 65, col 2)

p. 55, par. 2. The text is *tula ferarum mansio* (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, Pt. I, cap. 12).

Country planters: these would be unlicensed assartors or squatters on clearings in the forest.

p. 56, par. 1. The north gate would be that called Bar Gate. The paintings of Bevis and Ascupart are now in the Town Hall.

par. 2 The town was incorporated in 1445

Three of these gates have disappeared. Quite a good proportion of the walls is still standing

par. 4. The Castle was alienated to George Gollop in 1636, and the site gradually became built over (*V C H. Hampshire*, III, 499-500).

note. Cashoke is Calshot.

par. 5 St. Andrews Castle was by the Hamble River

For William Seymour, 2nd Earl of Hertford, see *D N.B.*

par. 6 Why the Lieutenant should call the Itchen by the name of one of its tributaries is a little puzzling

par. 7. There are still seven parishes, though two (St. Lawrence and St. John) have been united since 1614. The church of St John was pulled down under Queen Anne.

The French church (St. Julian) still serves its foreign congregation. In 1635 the minister was Daniel Sauvage, who seems to have made a satisfactory arrangement with Archbishop Laud that year (*Cal S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p. 149).

p. 57, par. 1 The church alluded to is St Nicholas, Millbrook (see *V.C.H. Hampshire*, III, 431).

For Sir Oliver Lambart, 1st Lord Lambart, see *D N.B.*

Garret (or rather Gerard) Fleetwood married Jane Lambart (*V.C.H. Hampshire*, III, 54).

par. 2 Heath is Hythe on the west bank of Southampton Water. Garnord is Gurnet

"A little forest" must be Parkhurst Forest.

par. 3. Jerome Weston, 2nd Earl of Portland, see *D N.B.*

p. 58, par. 4. The monument is to Margaret, wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham, Captain of the Island, 1509-20.

note. Captain Burley is perhaps John Burley who attempted to release King Charles at Newport (see *D N.B.*).

par. 4. Edgar founded the nunnery in 967. There is no tradition left of his burial here, but a capital on a pier near the site shows the heads of two Kings, one of which is said to be Edgar's.

Mr Robert Brackley's monument is in the north transept chapel.
par. 7. Sir Francis Fleming became possessed of the abbey lands before 1557; he died in 1558 (*VCH. Hampshire*, IV, 453-4). The monument has entirely gone.

p. 59, note. Captain Turry should be Turner (see *Cal S P Dom Car. I*, 1635, p. 111).

p. 60, par. 1. The Pauncefote monument is in the chapel on the north of the north quire aisle.

par. 2. Snudge. a miser

The apple-tree remained till nearly a hundred years ago, when repairs to the roof of the quire necessitated its removal.

note. Clarendon Park is now in private hands.

Lord Gorges for Edward, 1st Lord Gorges, see *Complete Peerage*. His father, Sir Thomas Gorges, built Longford Castle.

p. 61. All the monuments in the Cathedral were moved from their original places into the nave at the time that the church suffered at the hands of the elder Wyatt. The tombs of Montacute, William Longespee, Hungerford, Cheyney, Lord Stourton, an "old Templar" (probably one of the Longespée tombs) and the "ancient bishop," probably Bishop Jocelyn, have all been moved into the nave. For illustrations of the tombs of Jocelyn, William Longespée the elder and younger and Lord Hungerford, see Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, pp. 4, 21, 29, 98.

par. 6. The destruction of the Beauchamp chapel and its fellow on the north is one of the acts of vandalism for which Wyatt is most reproached.

note. Richard Poore, John D'Avenant, Brian Duppa, John Barnston, and Thomas Mason, see *DNB*. Dr Richard Bayly was appointed Dean of Salisbury early in 1635.

The Bishop of Worcester's name was John Thornborough (see *DNB*.)

p. 62, par. 7. For Edward, Earl of Hertford (1539-1621) see *D.N.B.* His tomb is at the east end of the south quire aisle.

Sir Thomas Gorges' tomb is on the south side of the north quire aisle at the east end.

p. 63, par. 2. For William, 3rd Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), see *D.N.B.* The brass is gone.

par. 3. By Bishop Boucher the Lieutenant probably refers to Bishop Mitford.

par. 4. Sir Richard Mompesson, d. 1627, his tomb is by the south wall of the south quire aisle.

par. 5. For John Capon, *alias* Salcot, see *DNB*. His tomb is on the north side of the south quire aisle.

par. 6. Giles de Bridport, 1263, in a small chantry in the south wall of the south quire aisle.

par. 7. Dr. George Sydenham: archdeacon of Sarum 1503-24; his tomb is on the south side of the north quire aisle.

Dr. Thomas Bennet, precentor, 1542-58. His tomb is on the south side of the north quire aisle, in the bay east of Sydenham's.

- par.* 8. Bishop Cane · i.e. Simon of Ghent (see *D N B*) his tomb is in the south quire aisle.
- par.* 9. Bishop Blath: i.e. John Blythe (d. 1500). His tomb is on the north wall of the north transept.
- par.* 10. The chantry of Bishop Audley (see *D N B.*) is on the north side of the quire.
- par.* 12 The monument to Miles Sandes is on the west wall of the south transept.
- p.* 64, *par.* 4. The "bell-clotcher" was pulled down by James Wyatt, under the supervision of Bishop Barrington. There is an illustration in Henry Hatcher, *Modern Wiltshire, Salisbury*, 1843, facing p. 524.
- note.* Sir Lawrence Hyde · presumably an uncle of Lord Clarendon. For Sir Robert Gordon see *D.N.B.*
- The Mompesson residence was at Corton, but this house must have been in the Close. St Edmund's is at the north-eastern corner of the town. The college adjoins it, and is once more used for educational purposes.
- p.* 65, *par.* 2 It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that it is hazardous to ascribe Stonehenge to King Aurelius.
- par.* 4. Amesbury Abbey, residence of Sir G. C. Antrobus.
- p.* 66, *par.* 1. A portion of the house here described was burnt in the seventeenth century and rebuilt after designs by Inigo Jones.
- p.* 68, *par.* 5 Badbury Rings, the site, according to some, of the Battle of Mount Badon (c. 520). It is not clear whether the Lieutenant means burnt matter or trees as occupying the Rings. At present they are largely grown over with trees.
- p.* 69, *par.* 2 The brass effigy of King Ethelred is in the presbytery. The spire fell down in 1600. (See John Hutchins, *The history of . . . Dorset*, 1861-8, Vol. III, p. 199)
- par.* 3. Creech Barrow Lodge: a round tower which formerly stood on the top of Creech Barrow, a conical and prominent eminence in the Purbeck Hills. (Hutchins, *Dorset*, Vol. I, p. 606, col. 1)
- The King murdered at Corfe was not Edwin but Edward.
- par.* 4. For a full description of the Castle and its history see Hutchins, *Dorset*, Vol. I, pp. 481-509.
- p.* 70, *par.* 2 The incident of Lady Hatton does not seem to be recorded in Hutchins; but see *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car. I.*, 1633-4, p. 564, where the charge is definitely made.
- par.* 3 For Sir John Bankes, see *D N B.*
- par.* 4. Stowberry is Stowborough, a small village south of Wareham. The mayor's office disappeared, according to Hutchins (Vol. I, p. 99) because the inhabitants being non-conformists, nobody would qualify under the Corporation and other Acts.
- par.* 5. That there were many churches in Wareham was the belief of Willis, who gives the number as 17. But see Hutchins, *Dorset*, Vol. I, p. 97, where reasons are given for the number being seven. The church containing the tombs of the knights is St. Mary's.
- The walls are prehistoric ramparts.
- p.* 71, *par.* 1. For Sussex we should read Suffolk (Theophilus, 2nd Earl, for whom see *D.N.B.*)

The "great French Monsieur" was Benjamin de Rohan, seigneur de Soubise, one of the chief leaders of the Huguenots against Richelieu. He died 1642

- par* 5 By Bindon Castle he must mean Bindon Abbey near Wool.
- p. 72, *par* 5. It will be remembered that repairs to the fabric of old St. Paul's were very heavy in the reign of Charles I
- ibid.* The "high round strong mount" must be Maumbury Rings, formerly a Roman Amphitheatre, just to the south of the town.
- note* George Bamfield was made Custos of Weymouth or Sandsfoot Castle in 1631 and was succeeded by Nathanael Speccot in 1640 (Hutchins, *Dorset*, Vol II, p. 440, col. 2)
- The grantee of Portland Castle at this time was Edward Sydenham of Giddy Hall, Essex (see *Cal S P Dom Car I*, 1635, p 5; Hutchins, *Dorset*, Vol. II, p. 816, col. 1). Sir Francis was the commander of the *Vanguard* (*Cal S P. Dom Car. I*, 1635, p. 171)
- p. 73, *par* 1. Burford must be Bridport: an instance of Brid being pronounced Bur, as in the case of Bridlington.
- par* 3. Hunnington is Honiton.
- par* 5. The Hospital is probably the almshouse founded by Sir Thomas Dennis in 1531 on the spot where one Thomas Bennet was burnt for heresy. The "unusual place" was presumably at Heavitree where the gallows stood. (See *The Ancient History and Description of the City of Exeter*, Exeter, n.d., p. 139.) According to this authority, Joan Tuckfield, widow of John Tuckfield, died in 1568 (*ibid.* p. 146).
- note.* For Bishop Joseph Hall and Hugh Cholmley, see *D N.B.*
- p. 74, *par* 4. Bishop William Cotton, see *D N B.*
- par* 5. "Next the wall," i.e. next the quire screen.
- par* 6. Bishop Adams should be Bishop Hugh Adham, see *D.N.B.*
- p. 75, *par* 2. Speake: Sir Thomas Speke.
- par* 3. Sir John Gilbert: Captain Gilbert's monument is in the chapel south of the Lady Chapel.
- par* 4. The monument of Bishop Valentine Carey, set up in 1624, is in the north quire aisle behind the stalls (see *D.N.B.*).
- par* 5. Bishop Walter Bronescombe (1257-80) lies buried between the south chapel at the east end and the Lady Chapel.
- par* 7. Sir John Doddridge's monument is on the north side of the Lady chapel altar. He married three times and his third wife was the daughter of Sir Amyas Bampfylde (see *D.N.B.*).
- par* 11. Bishop Edmund de Stafford (1395-1419), see *D.N.B.*
- par* 12. The monument of E. Barret is against the east wall of the chapel north of the Lady Chapel
- par* 13. The chapel contains the monument of Sir Peter Carew (see *D.N.B.*).
- par* 15. Walter de Stapeldon, for whom see *D N B.*
- p. 76, *par* 3. The tombs of Bishops Edmund Lacy (for whom see *D.N.B.*) and Marshall are by the screen on the north side of the quire.
- par* 4. The tomb of Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d 1377), is between two piers on the south side of the nave. But it was his son, Sir Hugh, who was one of the founders of the Order of the Garter. (See *Complete Peerage*.)

- par. 5.* A monument to Bishop Leofric (see *D N B*) was put up against the north wall of the south transept in 1568
- par. 6.* The "remarkable place" is the sedilia, which had niches containing statues of Edward the Confessor, Edith and Leofric. For the story of the sedilia see Philip Freeman, *Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral*, Exeter, 1888, pp 52 *et seqq*
- par. 7.* The cloister was destroyed during the Great Rebellion
- par. 9.* The Chapterhouse still remains though the cloister was destroyed
- p. 77.* *par. 2.* The sword and cap of maintenance are still among the municipal regalia. The Guildhall is the same building, and is one of the most ancient in the country
- par. 4.* Bedford House, the birthplace of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, stood on the site of the present Bedford Square
- The castle, known as Rougemont, has almost entirely disappeared
- par. 5.* Only a portion of the wall remains now
- p. 78.* *par. 1.* Mount Ratford: a suburb to the south-east of the town marked now by Radford Road
- par. 3.* Bradninch is still more decayed now than in 1635, its population in 1931 was 1,592. It was assessed for ship money in 1635 at £50, which compared with Exeter at £350 seems excessive for a decayed town (*Cal S P Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p 376)
- For Sir Francis Popham, see *D N B*
- par. 5.* Burgh Church is close to Borough Bridge on the isle of Athelney on Sedgmoor, and the round hill must be "King Alfred's Fort" but the present church, which was built in 1838, is not on it.
- note.* For "Garret" read "Parrett"
- p. 79.* *par. 2.* St. Joseph's Chapel and the Abbot's kitchen are about the only parts of Glastonbury Abbey that are not completely ruined.
- par. 6.* There is no mention that I can see in John Collinson, *History of Somersetshire*, 1891, Vol II, p 262, of anything like this ossuary.
- p. 80.* *par. 3.* The Spanish resident at this time was John de Nicolaldi.
- p. 81.* The waterworks made by Thomas Bushell (see *D N B.*) at Enstone are described with illustrations in Robert Plot, *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, Oxford, n.d., pp. 235-9. King Charles visited it at the end of August or before 3 September, 1635 (*Cal S.P. Dom. Car. I*, 1635, p. 366) as well as in 1636. It is strange that the Lieutenant does not mention the fact.
- note.* Coggs, near Witney: Thomas Pope, 2nd Earl of Downe (1631-60). See *Complete Peerage*.
- Charlbury. This is a confusion with Cornbury, and the owner was not Earl of Derby but Earl of Danby (see *D.N.B.*, s.v. Danvers).
- Ditchley was not owned by Sir Henry Lee in 1635, but by his cousin Henry Lee who inherited the property
- Lord Falkland's is Great Tew.
- p. 83.* *par. 3.* The Lieutenant is somewhat astray in his geography if after this long description of Enstone he thinks he entered Oxfordshire at Banbury.
- To "translate an altar to a sign" is presumably evidence of Puritanism. It may be remembered that on the outskirts of Banbury there is an old inn with the sign "The case is altered."

- p. 84, *par* 1. Presumably this church is All Saints which was burnt in 1675. No mention is made of these monuments that I can find in any other church by John Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, Oxford, 1791, Vol I, pp 441 *et seqq*
- par* 3. The two hospitals are St. John's and St Thomas'.
- The old Abbey called St Andrew's is at the north-west portion of the town
- par* 5. Willingbrooke Market is Wellingborough
- note*. Moulton Park, belonging to Sir Christopher Hatton the second (see *D.N.B*)
- Drayton (near Thrapston) belonged to the first earl who died 1642.
- Sir Roland St. John's house was at Woodford, between Kettering and Thrapston
- Note that the order of owner, and place is inverted in the case of Lady Montagu
- Linson may conceivably be an error for Lilford.
- Mr Palmer's house is Stoke Doyle, just outside Oundle (Bridges, *Northamptonshire, ut sup*, II, 376-7).
- p. 86, *par* 3 "Old Scarlet" is still one of the heroes of Peterborough: his portrait is inside the church by the west door. Sir John Lambe was Dean of Arches.
- note*. For Bishop Francis Dee, John Towers and John Pocklington, see *D.N.B.*
- p. 87, *par* 3 The last abbot and first bishop was John Chambers His monument, like nearly all the others in the church, was destroyed in 1643 (Symon Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, London, 1686, p 67).
- par* 4. The "hearses" were likewise destroyed by the fanatics.
- par* 6 Prelate Adams, i.e. Adam de Boothby, abbot from 1321-38. His tomb was in front of the high altar (Gunton, *ut sup*, p 45)
- par* 7. The monument of Sir Humfrey Orme was defaced but not demolished in 1643, perhaps because Sir Humfrey was still alive at the time.
- par* 9. Dame Amy should be Dame Agnes (Gunton, *ut sup*, p 99).
- last par*. The inscriptions on the monument of Bishop Thomas Dove (see *D.N.B*) are in Gunton, *ut sup*, p 82
- p. 88, *par* 1. Richard Worme died 13 May 1589. The other concerts on his monument may be found in Gunton, *ut sup*, p. 101.
- par* 3. The distribution of subjects dealing with English history in the cloister glass is given in Gunton, *ut sup*., pp 104-12.
- pp. 89, 90. It is not easy to understand why these vials of wrath are poured out upon the heads of the unfortunate inhabitants of Crowland. That matters were not satisfactory from the ecclesiastical point of view may be gathered from *Cal. S.P. Dom. Car I*, 1635, pp. 211, 217.
- p. 91, *note*. For Bishop Francis White and Henry Cæsar, see *D.N.B.*
- p. 92, *par* 2. The monument of John de Hotham (see *D.N.B.*) is south of the high altar; that of Richard Redman (see *D.N.B.*) at the north end of the quire stalls; that of Hugh of Northwold (see *D.N.B.*) is on the north side of the high altar; that of Bishop William Grey (see *D.N.B.*)

par. 3. The bishop who died beyond sea may be Bishop de Luda (1290-98).

The bishop who was Chancellor of England was John de Hotham. The Lieutenant probably means Bishop John Barnet (see *D.N.B.*), who was Treasurer of England under Edward III and whose tomb is on the south side of the quire.

par. 4. Earl of Worcester. the effigy is of John Tiptoft (see *D.N.B.*), and was probably intended by him for himself and his two wives.

par. 5. These two chapels are at the north-east and south-west extremities of the church

For bishops John Alcock and Nicholas West see *D.N.B.*

INDEX

A

Aaron's rod, 21.
 Adams, Bishop of Exeter, 74
 — Bishop of Peterborough, 87.
 — Mr., 53.
 Adulphus, King, 47.
 Ager, Sir Anthony, 20
 Alcock, Bishop of Ely, 92.
 Aldborough, 2, 94.
 Aldingbourne, 33, 35.
 Aldwinckle, 84.
 Alexander, Dr., 44
 Alfred, King, 47
 Amesbury, xiii, 60, 65, 93.
 Amy, Dame, 87.
 Andrewes, Roger, 34, Dr., 44.
 Anselm, St., 14.
 Appledore, 27.
 Armada, Spanish, 23.
 Arthur, King, round table, 51.
 Arun, River, 38
 Arundel, xii, 30, 38, 39, 94.
 — Castle, vii, 30-33, 93, 95;
 monuments in, 32-33
 — rape of, 30, 38.
 — Chapel at Chichester, 35.
 — Archbishop, 16.
 — Earl of, 30.
 — Mr., 73.
 Arundell of Wardour, Sir
 Thomas, 42.
 Ashburnham, Mr., 29.
 Ashenhurst, Capt., 6.

Audley, Bishop of Salisbury, 63.
 Aurelius, King, 65.
 Avon, River, 65.
 Axe, River, 73.
 Axminster, 73.
 Ayliffe, Sir Benjamin, 5.

B

Bacon, Mr. Cuthbert, 53.
 Badbury Rings, ix, xiii, 68-69.
 Badworth Park, 33.
 Balconquhall, Walter, Dean of
 Rochester, 8.
 Bampfylde, Sir Amyas, 75.
 — Captain, 72.
 Banbury, vi, x, 83, 94.
 — William, Earl of, 53.
 Bankes, Sir John, 70.
 Bargrave, Isaac, Dean of Can-
 terbury, 11.
 Barnston, Dr. John, 61.
 Barnwell Castle, 84.
 Barret, Capt., 59.
 — Mr., 60.
 Basing, Prior and Dean of
 Winchester, 49.
 Bath, ix, xiii, 80, 94.
 Bawdsey, v, xi, 3.
 Bayly, Dr., Dean of Salisbury, 61.
 Beaufort, Cardinal, 47.
 Becket, Thomas, 12, 13.
 Bedford, Earl of, 77.

Bennet, Dr., 63.
 — Robert, 53.
 — Mr., 5.
 Berkeley, Lord, 35.
 Bevis, 31.
 Bickley, Bishop of Chichester, 34.
 Billericay, 6.
 Bindon Castle (or Abbey), 71, 95.
 Bishop's Waltham, 43.
 Black Prince, 13.
 Blackwater, River, 5.
 Blanscombe, Bishop of Exeter, 75.
 Blath, or Blythe, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 63.
 Blessingden, Mr., 11.
 Blumford, Mr., 36.
 Bonn, Rev. Mr., 2.
 Bosham, 34.
 Bourcher (? Mitford), Bishop of Salisbury, 63.
 Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, 14.
 Bowles, John, Bishop of Rochester, 8.
 Bowyer, Sir William, 20.
 — Sir John, 17.
 — Mr., 20.
 Boyse, Dr., 16.
 Bradninch, 78, 94.
 Bramber, 30, 94, 95.
 Brent, Sir Nathaniel, 11.
 Bret, Captain, 40.
 Brickley, Mr. Robert, 59.
 Bridgman, Sir John, 51.
 Bridgwater, 78, 94.
 Bridport, xiii, 73.
 Brighton, 30.
 Brockman, Sir William, 19.
 Browne, Mr., 53.
 Brue, River, 79.
 Bryan, Sir Barnaby, 84.
 Bucke, Capt., 59.
 Buckingham, first Duke of, 39.
 — second Duke of, 6.
 Burby, Dr., 44.

Burgh, Somerset, 78.
 Burley, Capt., 59.
 Burnell, Dr., 74.
 Burstock, Rev. Dr., 34.
 Burton (Sussex), 38.
 Bury St. Edmunds, 4.
 Bushell, Thomas, vi, 81.
 Butley Abbey, 3.
 Byng, Capt., 23.

C

Cadwallader, 34, 35.
 Cæsar, Julius, 24.
 — Henry, 91.
 Calshot Castle, 56, 57, 59, 95.
 Cambridgeshire, 90-92.
 Cammoke, Capt., 3.
 — Mr., 6.
 Canterbury, v, ix, xi, 11-20, 93, 94; corporation, 19-20.
 — Cathedral, Corona, 12; throne, 13; St. Michael's chapel, 15, whispering place, 15; windows, 12; monuments, 12-17; lady chapel, 16; chapter of, 11; chapter house, 17; cloister, 17; dark entry, 17; Palace, 17, 19; deanery and houses, 17.
 — St. Augustine's Abbey, xi, 18.
 — Dane John, 19, 95.
 — Flower de Luce, ix, 11.
 — St. Martin's, xi, 19.
 — St. Pancras, 19.
 — St. Lawrence, 19.
 Canute, King, 47, 54.
 Capon, Bishop of Salisbury, 63.
 Carew, Peter, 75.
 Carey, Sir Gavin, 75.
 — Bishop of Exeter, 75.
 Carisbrooke Castle, xiii, 57, 58, 95.
 Casaubon, Dr. Meric, 11.
 Catharine of Aragon, 87.
 Cattawade Bridge, 4.

Chapman, Dr., 16.
 — Sir John, 33, 35.
 Charles I, King, ix, x, 19, 24, 96.
 Chatham, 9, 10.
 — King's Head, ix, 10.
 Chatillon, Cardinal, 13.
 Cheeke, Dr., 8.
 Cheney, Sir John, 62.
 Cherwell, River, 83.
 Cheyney, William, 42.
 Chichele, Henry, Archbishop, 14.
 Chichester, xi, xii, 33-35, 38, 93,
 94, cross, 33, corporation,
 33-34.
 — Cathedral, 34-35; brasses,
 34, pictures, 34-35, Ar-
 undel and Rymans chapel,
 35; bell-tower, 35; steeple,
 35.
 — White Horse, ix.
 — a knight, 74.
 Cholmley, Dr., Subdean of Exe-
 ter, 74.
 Christchurch, 60, 61.
 Clarence, Margaret Duchess of,
 15.
 Clarendon, 60.
 Coggs, 81.
 Colchester, xi, 5, 94.
 Cole, King, 5.
 Collins, Capt., 25.
 Common Pleas, Lord Chief Jus-
 tice (Finch), vi, 51, 54, 55.
 Corfe Castle, vii, xiii, 69-70, 94,
 95.
 Cornbury, 81.
 Cornwallis, Thomas, 42.
 Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, 74.
 — Archdeacon, 74.
 Courtney, William, Archbishop,
 13.
 Cowes, xiii, 56, 58, 59, 95.
 Cranmer, Archbishop, v.
 Creech Barrow, ix, 69.
 Creswell, Mr., 84.
 Crispe, Mr., 25.

Crowland, v, viii, 89-91.
 Crusoe, Rev Mr., 36.
 Culpeper, Sir John, 24.
 Curle, Waterhouse, Bishop of
 Winchester, 44.
 Cymbeline, King, 5.

D

Dacres, Lord, 6, 29.
 Danbury, 6.
 Danby, Earl of, 81.
 Davenant, John, Bishop of Salis-
 bury, 61.
 Deal, 21, 23, 95.
 Deane, Henry, Archbishop of
 Canterbury, 8.
 Deben, River, 3.
 Dee, Francis, Bishop of Peter-
 borough, 86.
 — Mr., 34.
 Denn, Mr., 20.
 Deucalion and Pyrrha, 72.
 Devon, Earl of, 76.
 Devonshire, 73-78, 93.
 D'Ews, Sir Francis, 54.
 Ditchley, 81.
 Dixwell, Sir Basil, 26.
 Doddridge, Judge, 75.
 Dorchester, xiii, 72, 94, 95.
 Dorset, 68-73, 93.
 — John, Marquess of, 15.
 Dove, Bishop of Peterborough,
 87.
 Dover, ix, xii, 22-26, 93, 94;
 penniless bench, 25; Ad-
 miralty Court, 26, fortifi-
 cations, 25; corporation,
 26; pier, 26.
 — Bull, ix, 26.
 — Castle, xii, 23-45, 95.
 Downe, Earl of, 81.
 Downs, The, viii, xii, 21.
 Drake, Katharine and Nicolas,
 15.
 Drayton, 84.

Du Moulin, Dr Pierre, 11.
 Duncombe, Dr , 44.
 Dunwich, 2, 94
 Duppa, Dr. Brian, 61.
 Dymchurch, 27.

E

Eastbourne, xii, 29
 — Lamb, ix, xii, 29.
 Eastbridge, 2.
 Edgar, King, 59, 69.
 Edmund, Duke of York, 85.
 Edward the Confessor, 74, 76.
 Edward the Martyr, 69
 Edward I, 55
 Edward III, 10.
 Egbert, King, 47.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 6, 7, 24.
 Ellingham, 111.
 Ellis, Mr. Thomas, 22.
 Elmes, Mr., 84.
 Ely, xiv, 89, 91-93.
 — Cathedral, 91-92
 Emma, Queen, 47.
 Enstone, vi, xiii, 81-83.
 Escot, Sir Giles, 65.
 Essex, county of, 3-7, 93.
 Ethelred, King, 69
 Exe, River, 77.
 Exeter, xi, 73-78, 93, 94 ; cor-
 poration, 77
 — Cathedral, 74-76 ; cloister
 and library, 76 ; monu-
 ments, 74-76.
 — castle, 77, 94, 95.
 Exipart, 31.
 Eye, 4.

F

Falkland, Lord, 81.
 Feild, Mr., 53.
 Felix, St., 2.
 Felton, John, 39.
 Feversham, 10, 94.
 Finch, Lord. *See* Common Pleas

Fish, Mr., 53.
 Fleetwood, Sir Gerard, 57
 — Sir William, 84
 Fleming, Sir Francis, 59.
 Fletcher, Capt., 22.
 Folkestone, 26.
 Forest, eyre of the, iv, vi, xii,
 xiii, 51-55.
 — law, 54-55.
 Forster, Lord, 9.
 Fotherby, Dr., Dean of Canter-
 bury, 16.
 — Sir John, 20.
 Fotheringay Castle, vii, 85, 96.
 Fox, Richard, Bishop of Win-
 chester, 47.
 Frampton, 84.
 Frewen, Dr., accepted Dean of
 Gloucester, 11.
 Frome, River, 70.

G

Gadshill, 8
 Gages, Sir John, 29
 Gardiner, Stephen, Bishop of
 Winchester, 47.
 Ghent, Simon of, Bishop of
 Salisbury, 63.
 Gifford, Mr., 53
 Gilbert, Sir John, 75.
 Giles, Bishop of Salisbury, 63.
 Gilsus, 47.
 Glastonbury, xiii, 78-80.
 — Abbey, 79.
 — Thorn, 79-80
 — Tor, 78-80.
 Goad, Thomas, 44.
 Gogmagog, 25.
 Gondomar, Ct., 11.
 Goodwin Sands, 21.
 Goodwood, 33, 35.
 Gordon, Sir Robert, 64.
 Gorge, Lieut., 59.
 — Lord, 60.
 Gorges, Sir Thomas, 62.

Goring, Sir Willam, 38.
 Graces, 6.
 Grain Island, 10.
 Gravesend, xi, 7, 94, 95.
 Gray, Bishop of Ely, 92.
 Great Baddow, 6.
 Grey, Sergeant-Major, iv.
 Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, 4.
 Guldeford Ferry, 27.
 Gundulfus, Bishop of Rochester,
 9.
 Gurnet Castle, 57, 59.
 Guyhurne, 92.

H

Hales, Sir John, 20.
 — Sir Thomas, 15.
 Hall, Dr. Joseph, Bishop of
 Exeter, 74.
 — Mr., 74.
 Halnaker, 35, 38.
 Hamble, River, 43.
 Hammond, name of, iii, iv.
 — Nowell, iii, 5.
 — Capt., 20.
 Hampnett, West, 35.
 Hampshire and Isle of Wight,
 39-60, 93.
 Hardicanute, King, 47.
 Hards, Mr., 20.
 Harris, Dr. John, Warden of
 Winchester, 44, 50.
Harry, ship, 40.
 Harsnett, Samuel, Archbishop
 of York, 5.
 Hartstrong, Mr., 53.
 Harwich, iv, viii, 3, 7, 27, 94.
 Hastings, xii, 29, 93-95.
 Hatton, Lady, 70.
 — Sir Christopher, 84.
 Havant, xii, 39.
 Hayling Island, 39.
 Heavitree, 73.
 Henrietta Maria, Queen, 19, 24,
 84.

Henry I, 54.
 Henry II, 55, 61.
 Henry III, 55.
 Henry IV, 13.
 Henry VII, 35.
 Henry VIII, 35.
 Hereford, Bohun Earl of, 74.
 Hertford, tombs of Lords, 62.
 — Earl of, 56, 65.
 Hicks, Mr., 34.
 Hillhead, 41.
 Hinchman, Dr., 61.
 Hobson, Mr., 53.
 Holland, Earl of, 51.
 Holmes, John, organist, 46.
 Honiton, 73.
 Hotham, John de, Bishop of Ely,
 92.
 Howard, Sir William, 29.
 Hubert, Walter, Archbishop, 14.
 Hugh of Northwold, Bishop of
 Ely, 92.
 Huntingdonshire, 86, 93.
 Hunton, prior (Winchester), 48.
 Hurst Castle, 59, 95.
 Hutchinson, Dr., 34, 74.
 Hyde, Sir Lawrence, 64.
 Hythe, 26, 93, 94.

I

Ine, King, 78.
 Ipswich, 4.
 Islip, Archbishop, 16.
 — Capt., 26.
 Itchin, River, 56.

J

Jackson, Dr., 8, 11, 44.
 James, Capt., 59.
 Jeffrey, Dr., 11.
 Jephson, Sir John, 53.
 Jervis, Sir Thomas, 54.
 John, King, 55.

K

Kemp, Sir Garret, 33
 Kemp, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 14.
 Kempe, Mr., 53.
 Kenilworth, vii.
 Kent, county, 7-27, 93.
 Kessingland, 2.
 Keyser, Dr., 44.
 Killet, Dr., 74.
 Kingsham, 35.
 Kingsley, Dr., 11.
 Knapton, Mr., 53.
 Knight, Mr., 53
 Knolles, Sir Robert, 8.

L

Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 76.
 Ladd, Mr., 20.
 Lamb, Sir John, 86.
 Lambert, Lord, 57.
 Landguard Fort, xi, 3, 4, 94.
 Land's End, 78.
 Lane, Dr., 44.
 Lanfranc, Archbishop, 15.
 Langton, S., Archbishop, 15.
 Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 11.
 Lee, Sir John, 53.
 — Sir Henry, 81.
 Lennox, Duke of, 7.
 Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, 74, 76.
 Lepe, xiv, 57, 59.
 Lewes, 30, 38, 94, 95.
 Lewis, Dr., Master of St. Cross, 44, 50.
 Lewknor, Mr., 34.
 Lincoln, Tom of, bell, 75.
 Lindsey, Earl of, 23.
 Linson (? Lilford), 84.
Lion's Whelps, the, 22.
 London, 6.
 Longford Castle, 60, 61.
 Lothingland, 1, 93.
 Lovel, Lieut., 3.

Lovelace, Sergeant, 17.
 — Mr., Recorder of Canterbury, 20.
 Lowestoft, 1.
 Lucius, King, 24, 47.
 Lulworth Castle, vii, xiii, 71, 94, 95.
 Lumley, Lord, 39.
 Lym, Dr., 61.
 Lyme Regis, xiii, 73, 94, 95.

M

Magna Carta, 55.
 Maiden Castle, 72.
 Maldon, iii, iv, xi, 5, 6, 94.
 Malmesbury, 94
 Man, Sir Christopher, 20.
 Manhood hundred, 39.
 Manningtree, ix, xi, 4, 5.
 Manwood, L. C. B., 21.
 Margate, xi, 21.
 Marshall, Bishop of Exeter, 76.
 Mary Tudor, Queen, 48.
 Mary Queen of Scots, vii, 85, 87.
 Mason, Dr., 44, 61.
 Mason, Sir Thomas, 48.
 — Captain John, 40.
 Masters, Sir Edward, 19.
 Medway, River, 8, 10.
 Meetkerke, Dr. Edward, 44.
 Merton, Walter de, 9.
 Midsummer (Minsmere) Haven, 2.
 Mildmay, Sir Humphry and Sir Henry, 6.
 Mildred, St., 21.
 Mills, Sir John, Bart., 54.
 Mompesson, Sir Richard, 63.
 — Mr., 64.
 Montagu, Lady, 84.
 — Dr. Richard, Bishop of Chester, 34.
 — Antony Browne, Viscount, 42.
 Montgomery, Earl of, 53.

Morley, Sir William, 35, 38.
 Morton, Cardinal, 17.
 Moulton, 84.
 Mutford Bridge, 1.

N

Nene, River, 84, 86.
 Netley, 56, 95.
 Nevill, Dr., 34.
 New Forest, 59.
 New Hall, 6.
 Newell, Robert, 34.
 Newport (I.O.W.), ix, xiii, 57-58, 94.
 Nicolaldi, Spanish ambassador, 80.
 Norfolk, 1, 92, 93.
 Northampton, 83-84, 94, 96.
 Northamptonshire, 83-89.
 Northumberland, Earl of, 33, 35-38.
 Norton, Sir Daniel, 54; Sir Richard (?), 39.
 Norwich, v, xi, xii, xiv.

O

Oglander, Capt., 35.
 Ore, River, 3.
 Orford, 3, 94.
 Orme, Sir Humphrey, 87.
 Orwell, River, 4.
 Osborne, Dr., 61.
 Osney, Tom of (bell), 74.
 Ottery, River, 73.
 Oundle, xiii, 84-85.
 — Talbot, ix, 84.
 Oxenbridge, family, 29.
 Oxford, 83.
 Oxfordshire, 81-83.

P

Pakefield, 2.
 Palmer, Mr., 84.

Parcivall, Capt., 25.
 Parkhouse, Preb. of Exeter, 76.
 Parret, River, 78.
 Parry, Dr., 74.
 Paske, Dr., Sub-Dean of Canterbury, 11.
 Paulet, Sir George, 49.
 — Lord, 23.
 Pauncefote, Sir Walter, 60.
 Pay, Mr., 34.
 Peale, Dr., 11
 "Pease Rock Beach," 3
 *Pembroke, Earl of, vi, 63, 66.
 Penniston, Capt., 23.
 Penruddocke, Sir Thomas, 53.
 — Capt., 22
 Peter, John, Mayor of Exeter, 73.
 Peterborough, xi, xiii, xiv, 86-89, 92-94.
 — Cathedral, vii, 86-89; monuments, 87-88; cloister windows, 88-89; last abbot and first bishop, 87.
 — Earl of, 84.
 Peterson, Dr., Dean of Exeter, 74.
 Petre, Lord, 6.
 Petworth, vii, xii, 36-38, 93.
 — George, ix, 38.
 Pevensey, xii, 29, 95.
 Philip II, 48.
 Pocklington, Dr. John, 86.
 Poole Harbour and town, ix, 69, 70, 94, 95.
 Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, 61.
 Popham, Sir Francis, 78.
 Porchester, 40, 95.
 Portland, R. Weston, Earl of, 48, 51.
 — Isle of, 72, 93; castle, 95.
 Portsdown, 39.
 Portsmouth, v, viii, xii, 39-41, 59, 94, 95.
 — Red Lion, ix.
 Potter, Dr., 34.
 Purbeck, ix, xiii, 69, 70, 71, 93.

Q

Queenborough, 10, 94, 95.

R

Ramsey Bridge, 4.
 — Sir Robert, 53.
 — Henry, 54.
 — abbot of Peterborough, 88.
 Redmayne, Bishop of Ely, 92.
 Reynolds, Walter, Archbishop,
 14.
 Rich, Lord, 6.
 Richard I, King, 14, 55.
 Richard, St, of Chichester, 34,
 35
 Ringstead, Rev. Mr., xii, 39.
 Rochester, xi, 8, 9, 93, 94, 95.
 Rogers, Dean of Canterbury, 16.
 Romney, 26, 27, 93, 94.
 Romney Marsh, assizes, iv, 27.
 Romsey, xiii, 59-60.
 Rosamund, fair, 61.
 "Rudhudibras," 11.
 Ryde, 59.
 Rye, 27, 28, 93-95.
 — Mermaid, ix, xii, 27.

S

Sadler, Mr., 64.
 St. Andrew's Castle, 56, 95.
 St. John, Sir Roland, 84.
 St. Paul's, London, 72.
 Salisbury, xi, xiii, 60-65, 68, 93,
 94; corporation, 68.
 — Cathedral, 61-64; monu-
 ments, 60-64; close, 64;
 bell tower, 64; chapter
 house, vii, 64; chapter,
 62.
 — Beauchamp chapel, 62.
 — Longespee, Earl of, 61.
 — Montacute, Earl of, 61.
 — Hungerford chapel, 61.
 Samuel, Sir William, 84.
 Sandgate, 26, 95.

Sandown castle, xii, 22, 23, 95.
 Sands, Lady, 5.
 — Sir Nicholas, 22.
 — Mr. Miles, 63.
 Sandwich, xi, xii, 21, 22, 93-95.
 Sarum, Old, 68-69, 94.
 Scarlet, Old, 86.
 Scudamore, John, Viscount, ix,
 10.
 Selhurst Park, 33, 38.
 Selsey, 35, 39.
 Severus, Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, 13
 Seward, Dr., 61.
 Sheppey, Isle of, 10, 93.
 Shirburn, Robert, Bishop of
 Chichester, 34.
 Shoreham, 30, 94.
 Shotley, 4
 Silkstede, Prior (Winchester), 48.
 Sittingbourne, 10, 94.
 Sizewell, 2.
 Smallpage, Michael, 34
 Smith, Capt., 56
 Somerleyton Hall, viii, 1.
 Somers, Mr, 86.
 Somerset, 78-80.
 Soubise, M de, 71.
 Southampton, xii, xiii, 55, 56, 59,
 94, 95.
 — Earl of, vi, 52, 53; monu-
 ments of family, 41-42.
 Southsea, 40, 95.
 Southwold, 1, 2.
 Speke, 75.
 Stafford, Archbishop, 16.
 — Bishop of Exeter, 75.
 Stanstead, 39.
 Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, 75;
 his brother, 76.
 Stephen, King, 10.
 Steward, Dr. Richard, 34.
 Stoke, 84.
 Stonehenge, viii, xiii, 65.
 Stour, River, Essex, 4.
 — Hampshire, 20.

Stourton, Lord, 62.
 Stowborough, 70, 94.
 Stratford, John, Archbishop of
 Canterbury, 14.
 Stritton, Mr., 9.
 Sudbury, 4.
 — Simon of, Archbishop, 14.
 Suffolk, county of, 1-3.
 — Earl of, 24.
 Sussex, county, 27-39, 93.
 — Earl of (1635), 6, 71.
 — Thomas Fitzwater, 42.
Swallow, H.M.S., 40.
 Swift, Mr., 86.
 Sydenham, Dr., 63.
 — Sir Francis, 72.

T

Talbot, Capt., 7.
 Tamar, River, 78.
 Taunton, xiii, 78, 94, 95.
 Taw, River, 78.
 Temple, Sir Alexander, 9.
 Test, River, 56, 60
 Tew, 83.
 Thames, River, 7, 83.
 Thanet, Isle of, 20, 93.
 Thornbury, Dr., Subdean of
 Salisbury, 61; Mr., 61.
 Thorney, 39.
 Thornhurst, Sir T., 15.
 Thorp, 2.
 Tichborne, Sir Richard, 43.
 Tilbury, viii, ix, xi, 6, 7, 94.
 Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, 92.
 Tiptree Heath, 5.
 Tirret, Robert, 53.
 Titchfield, xii, 41, 42-43.
 — Place, vii, 42-43, 93.
 Tonbridge, 8.
 Tone, River, 78.
 Topliffe, Mr., 2
 Torridge, River, 78.
 Towers, Dr. John, Dean of
 Peterborough, 84.

Tuchfield, Joan, 73.
 Tucker, Capt., 52.
 Turry, Capt., 59.

U

Udall, Sir Richard, 53.
 — Sir William, 43, 51, 53.
 Ufford, Archbishop, 16.

V

Vassus, Mr., 11.
 Vaughan, Mr., 64.

W

Walberswick, 2.
 Walmer Castle, 23, 95.
 Wareham, ix, 69, 70, 94.
 Warham, W., Archbishop, 15
 Warner, Dr., Dean of Lichfield,
 11.
 Washington, Sir John, 84
 Waveney, River, 1.
 Wayfleet oysters, 6.
 Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester,
 47.
 Wellingborough, 84.
 Wellington (Som.), 78.
 Wells, 80, 94.
 Wentworth, Mr., 6.
 — Sir John, 1.
 West, Bishop of Ely, 92
 Westgate, prior of Winchester,
 48.
 Westley, Dr., 11.
 Weston, Lord, 57.
 Weymouth, xiii, 72, 94, 95.
 White, Dr. Francis, Bishop of
 Ely, 91.
 Wight, Isle of, xii, xiii, 35, 41,
 56-59, 93.
 Wigmore, Archdeacon, 91.
 Wild, Capt., xi, 20.
 Wilfrid, St., 34, 35.

- Willes, John, Fellow of Winchester, 50.
 William, the Conqueror, 54.
 — Rufus, 47.
 — St., of Rochester, 9.
William and Thomas, H.M.S., viii.
 Williamson, Dr., 86.
 Wilson, Archdeacon, 74.
 Wilton, vi, vii, 66-68, 93, 94.
 Wiltshire, 60-68.
 Wimbledon, Viscount, 40.
 Wimborne, xiii, 69.
 Winchelsea, xii, 28, 29, 93, 94.
 Winchester, xi, xii, xiii, 43-55, 93, 94; corporation, 44.
 — Cathedral, v, vii, 44-49; panels in stalls, 44-46; monuments, 46-49; windows, 48; hangings, 49.
 — St. Mary's Abbey, xii, 43.
 — College, xii, 49-50.
 — Wolvesey, 50.
 Winchester, St. Cross, xii, 50-51.
 — Castle, 51.
 — Hyde Abbey, 43.
 — Bishop of, 33, 35, 43.
 Windmill Hill, 39.
 Wisbech, xiv, 92, 96.
 Wolmer Forest, 52.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 16.
 Woodbridge, 3.
 Woodham Water, 6.
 Wootton, Dean of Canterbury, 13.
 Worme, Mr. Richard, 87.
 Wotton, Lady, 18, 20.
 Wykeham, William of, 48.

Y

- Yarmouth, xi, 1, 94; (I.O.W.), 59, 94, 95.
 York, Edmund, Duke of, 85.
 Young, Dr., Dean of Winchester, 44.

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F. W. BROOKS, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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INTRODUCTION

Some time ago I was asked by Mr. G. R. Martyn, of the firm of Martyn's & Gane, if I could identify an old document, which had been found in cleaning out a room in his offices. The document was sent to me and proved to be the depositions relating to the sea-banks at Terrington.¹ I asked Mr. Martyn if he had any more such documents and, as a result, a fairly large collection was sent for inspection. The collection was easily divisible into two main groups. The first was part of the collections of an active Justice of the Peace of Norfolk, roughly for the period 1580-1620; the other was part of the Townshend papers, mainly relating to the upkeep of the town house of the family in the early part of the eighteenth century. There were a few stray documents, some of the late fifteenth and some of the late seventeenth centuries.

The connection with the Townshend family and the frequent references in the earlier collection to Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey led me to consult the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Townshend Papers² and the "Stiffkey Papers."³ From the introduction to the latter it appeared that some of the papers of the Townshend family relating to Sir Nicholas Bacon and his son Nathaniel had been in the hands of local antiquaries for publication, and it is further stated that some, including papers on musters, had been lost. I formed the conclusion that the papers sent to me were these missing documents.

Mr. Martyn readily consented to the publication of the documents. In view of their distinctly local interest, it seemed that a local record society might have been approached, but as the documents relating

¹ See p. 24.

² H. MSS. Com. 11th Report, Ap. IV. Henceforward referred to as T.P.

³ Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, Ed. H. W. Saunders, Camden Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. XXVI, 1915. Henceforward referred to as S.P.

to Bacon were obviously supplementary to those which had been published by the Royal Historical Society, it was suggested that a calendar of those documents which could be regarded as supplementary to the "Stiffkey Papers" might be included in the present volume, on the precedent of the Supplementary Stonor Papers.¹

That several documents which, for lack of space, have been either briefly calendared or even barely listed here, merit publication in full can hardly be doubted. In particular, the large number of early overseers accounts might well be of interest to the local historians of Norfolk, and the same remark applies to several other documents in the collection. In editing, therefore, my aim has been to give, consistently with rather stringent limitations of space, as full a description as possible of the documents which fill in the gaps of the Stiffkey Papers.

The documents calendared here complete the picture of the multifarious duties of an energetic justice which we obtain from the "Stiffkey Papers." The picture, it is true, remains the same in outline, but we are able to add something to what we already know of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, both in his private capacity and as one of those country gentry who have been aptly described as "maids of all work of the Tudor Government." In accordance with the precedent set by the Introduction to the "Stiffkey Papers," it is proposed to consider this new information according to some of the administrative activities of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, but it should be noted that by no means all the activities mentioned therein are illustrated here.

I. AS A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Whilst it is perfectly true that there was a distinct tendency in the early seventeenth century for much of the work assigned by statute to the justices to be, in practice, done by a mere handful of them under special commissions, and most of Bacon's more burdensome activities were due to such commissions, there was none the less a substantial residuum of business which fell to him as an ordinary justice of the peace.

One of the most important functions of the justice was that of binding over persons, an ingenious device for securing obedience amongst a not too law-abiding populace. Fortunately, Bacon, or his clerk, kept a notebook in which the names of those who were bound over by Bacon from 1584 to 1591 is found. The list is not

¹ Camden Soc., 3rd Series, Vols. XXIX, XXXI, XXXIV.

complete as there are no entries for 1587, but, even so, no less than 185 persons are bound over. The causes are various. Some are bound over to appear at sessions, probably to answer some charge; some are bound to appear to prosecute or as witnesses; others are bound to keep the peace, and alehouse keepers are always bound over to keep good order in their houses. The sums in which persons are bound range from fifty shillings to twenty pounds.

Another duty which fell to the justice was that of taking preliminary depositions in criminal cases. Only a few of these survive in the collection, but the depositions in the charge of witchcraft brought against Agnes Amies of Saxthorpe¹ are of considerable interest as showing on what curiously fanciful grounds an accusation of witchcraft could be seriously made.

Turning from criminal to civil business, it was quite usual for a justice to act as arbitrator in a dispute, both parties binding themselves to accept his decision. A similar practice is seen here in the agreement made between Richard Okleby and his apprentice, Thomas Boulton. Okleby was a mason, whom we find mentioned elsewhere as repairing a bridge (probably for the county) and he agrees to pay Boulton ten shillings, provide him with a working and a Sunday suit and the tools of his trade, to wit a hammer, square, plumb rule and trowel.² Boulton was more lucky than another unfortunate prentice of Wells who scalded himself and was nevertheless made to work by a master who was "more greedy of his worke than forward to get him remedyed."³ Another curious agreement made before Bacon was that whereby John Curbie agreed to pay 6*d.* per week for the upkeep of his insane wife in Walsingham Hospital.⁴

The Elizabethan Poor Law threw considerable work upon the justices, though the bulk of it fell upon the overseers and churchwardens. But every Easter the churchwardens' accounts had to be passed by the justices. It is interesting to see Bacon's clerk jotting down, in an almost illegible hand, abounding in curious abbreviations, a series of notes for the procedure at these sessions, when we remember that, for rather more than the next two centuries, Poor Law business was destined to occupy more of the justice's time than any other single branch of business.⁵

Midway between the ordinary work of the justices of the peace and the special commissions fall certain cases which were remitted

¹ p. 21.

² p. 21

³ p. 19.

⁴ p. 19.

⁵ The whole topic is ably discussed in S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government* (London, 1906).

to be heard by certain justices after they had been heard or put down for hearing by a court of assize or other superior court. The intention seems generally to have been to bring the parties to some agreement, failing which the case was resumed in the higher court. This practice shows the best side of the Tudor and Stuart governments and their servants the justices. That the justices were sometimes successful in their efforts is shown by some of the cases that follow. Their shrewd common sense, coupled with their local knowledge and perhaps the exercise of a little local authority, often served to show an irate litigant that he had more to lose than gain by going to law, and in any estimate of the value of the system of justices of the peace, due weight ought to be given to this fact. Not only did they ease the burden which would otherwise have fallen on the higher courts, but they must have checked the local rancours which often developed from the interminable law suits which are such a common feature of the social life of the period. Even where the justices failed to bring the parties to an agreement, their efforts and judgement had doubtless considerable weight with the tribunals to which obstinate litigants insisted on referring their causes. The case of *Harwyn v. Ferrou*¹ is worth quoting as an illustration of the type of case with which the justices had to deal, and as an interesting side-light on the social life of the period.

The case was presumably remitted to the justices by the Lord Chief Justice. Harwyn the plaintiff was, by his own showing, a much wronged man. He presumably owed a debt to Ferrou who had him arrested and bound to the sheriff of Norfolk for appearance. When the case came on in London, Ferrou's attorney demanded special bail, and Harwyn's attorney refusing to find this, Ferrou got judgement against the sheriff for failing to produce Harwyn. The sheriff naturally proceeded against Harwyn and his sureties. The main suit between Ferrou and Harwyn still stood, and in spite of the fact that Harwyn put in special bail before the Lord Chief Justice at Thetford Assizes, Ferrou had him arrested and began a complicated series of actions against him, the upshot of which was that Harwyn was arrested several times, was reduced to destitution, and still Ferrou had a *nisi prius* action pending against him.

Having got some insight into the character of Ferrou the justices began to collect a little more information about him. He seems

¹ p. 7 *et seq.*

to have made a practice of buying up bonds and enforcing his rights with the greatest severity, often refusing to surrender the bond after payment. On one occasion, at any rate, the intervention of the justices made him allow time for payment. Ferroure also did a little money lending at ferocious rates of usury. On one such transaction he received in five years, as interest on a loan of £5, a grass close worth 20s. per annum, six combs of barley and £6 in cash, and the unfortunate debtor was still bound to the payment of 30s. per annum. He was fiercely litigious and sued George Button the curate for trespass, chiefly, it would appear, because Button, who was the local schoolmaster, took Ferroure's step-daughter home in bad weather. His knowledge of the law seems to have been fairly extensive and his unfortunate opponents were harassed by every device known to the ingenuity of the Tudor lawyer.

Obviously when such men as Ferroure existed, the power of remitting cases to men of local knowledge was a valuable tool in the hands of any government and undoubtedly served to mitigate the hardships of the common law. The whole episode reveals a particularly seamy side of Elizabethan social life and suggests that Shakespeare may not have had to look very far to find a prototype for Shylock.¹

In addition to cases submitted to the justices to be settled, a considerable amount of work was placed on their shoulders by commissions from superior courts, such as the Exchequer or Star-chamber, instructing them to take depositions in cases pending before such courts.

One of the most interesting of the Star Chamber cases is Attorney General *v.* Pigeon and others. At the suit of Pigeon, John Parker and other bailiffs of the sheriff of Norfolk arrested Thomas Wade of Mattshall. Wade was eighty years old, very fat, and bedridden, but as his son and daughter-in-law with whom he lived stoutly resisted the bailiffs, the latter broke down a wall of the house and took old Wade in a cart to London, with considerable brutality, and lodged him in the Fleet where he died.² It is characteristic of Tudor government that the circumstances were enquired into by the Star Chamber, although in strict law the bailiffs seem to have been justified.

¹ For a full discussion of the whole problem of usury in the Elizabethan Age see R. H. Tawney, *Discourse upon Usury* (London, 1925). There is a reference on p. 23 to this identical case, taken from the State Papers.

² p. 4.

One Exchequer commission merits a word or two, the one which in 1600 instructed Bacon and others to enquire into the condition of the sea banks at Terrington and the responsibility for their upkeep. The tale unfolded by the depositions of lands flooded and farms ruined throws a vivid light on the troubles of a Marshland village, whilst the stubborn refusal of the neighbouring parishes to submit to a rate in aid of their distressed neighbours illustrates a thick-headed parochialism that will not be entirely unfamiliar to those who know something of the administration of drainage whether ancient or modern.¹

The documents calendared here do not add much to what we learn from the "Stiffkey Papers" of the work done by Bacon in his capacity as a commissioner for the restraint of the export of wool and corn. There are, in fact, only two documents which relate to his activities as a commissioner for the restraint of exportation of corn, but both are of considerable interest to students of agricultural history.

One of these is in the form of the notes of licences to transport corn issued between October 1590 and February 1591. The interesting feature of these licences is the destination of the various sorts of grain. The bulk of the wheat went to London and the bulk of the rye to Selby. It would seem that the inhabitants of London had "lost their rye teeth" as early as the reign of Elizabeth.² The victualling certificates granted to merchant ships at the same time afford an interesting comparison with the victualling scales for ships of war.

Much more important, however, to the student of agricultural history is the census, unhappily undated and incomplete, of the corn in Norfolk.³ One or two points in this document appear to deserve comment. One is the comparatively small number of people in any village who had even a small store of corn; four or five is an average number. Another interesting point is the size of some of the households. Fifteen is not an uncommon number of persons in a household, and instances occur of as many as thirty.

As one would expect, barley is the predominating crop, but some farms produced a fair quantity of wheat and rye. Very little oats

¹ The Terrington business is discussed at length, S.P., pp. 107-114. Dr. Saunders regarded it as emanating from the Court of Sewers. The endorsements of the depositions, however, prove that the enquiry was by a commission from the Exchequer. The reason is obvious since all the deponents agree that the queen was the chief landowner in Terrington.

² For the whole subject of the consumption of wheat and rye see W. J. Ashley, *Bread of our Fathers* (Oxford, 1929). ³ p. 5.

are grown. The fact that some of the searchers draw a distinction between maslin and wheat and rye seems to point to the existence side by side of maslin as a definite crop, and the practice of mixing wheat with rye after thrashing.¹

The only reference to the woollen industry is the return of the jury asked to enquire into the purchase of wool by the foreigners of Norwich which throws a little light on the activities of the Walloon and Dutch wool workers in Norwich. From this it would appear that the Dutch and Walloons bought different types of wool and used it for different purposes.

Another economic document of some interest is the collection of depositions concerning the salt monopoly at Lynn.² This shows a curious difference of opinion on the effects of a monopoly. The deponents from the district immediately round Lynn are loud in condemnation of the monopoly, whilst the evidence from Suffolk and Cambridge is in its favour. The general conclusion to be drawn seems to be that this particular monopoly affected the seller rather than the consumer, and one is left with the feeling that the opposition from Lynn was due to a desire to share in the profits of the trade rather than to any gross profiteering on the part of the patentees; though it is probably true that salt could have been bought more cheaply in Lynn from the salters than from the patentees.

II. AS DEPUTY LIEUTENANT AND COMMISSIONER FOR MUSTERS

Although it has been known that Bacon was both a deputy lieutenant and commissioner for musters, neither the Townshend nor the printed Stiffkey Papers throw very much light on his activities in that capacity.³ Some, at any rate, of the missing documents are here, and they fully bear out the comment of Dr. Saunders that this was probably the slackest part of local administration.

Thanks to the labours of Miss Scott Thomson⁴ and others we are

¹ My colleague, Mr. H. King, has suggested to me that this mixing may have been due to a difficulty in growing a mixed crop such as maslin, since rye and wheat ought to be sown and harvested at different times. The practice of mixing wheat and rye after threshing is also noted in the accounts of Roger Townshend's bailiff, p. 41. ² p. 1. ³ S.P., p. xi

⁴ G. Scott Thomson, *The Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1923).

The subject has also been treated in considerable detail by the late Dr. J. E. Morris in the introduction to Miss Joan Wake's edition of *Papers relating to Musters in Northants* Northants Record Soc., Vol. III (1926)

now fairly cognizant of the general outline of the organization which under the Tudors replaced alike the medieval fyrd and the system of indentures of war. The late Mr. Walter Rye gathered together a considerable mass of information on the subject but from a slightly later date than that illustrated by our documents.¹

The general principle on which the nation's second line of defence was organized can be briefly summarized. It was based upon the medieval assize of arms, which laid down that each householder must provide himself with weapons according to his estate. The increasing complexity of warfare had modified this to the extent that only the more substantial householders were now bound to provide arms, whilst the lesser inhabitants appear to have been rated together to provide a weapon or weapons which are always alluded to as "the town's" in our records. In addition, the hundred had to provide munitions, powder, match and bullet, together with transport, i.e. carts, and a supply of pioneers' tools, picks, shovels, axes and the like. Also in each hundred there were a number of pioneers. Service, it should be noted, was not necessarily personal, and in the muster lists the usual form is to give the name of the man actually mustered, followed by the name of the person who provided the equipment. One peculiar difficulty in the musters during this period, was what to do with wealthy recusants. It was considered dangerous to allow them to possess weapons or to attend musters, but to allow them to evade the service might have led to an increase in their numbers, for militia service was obviously unpopular. The problem was solved by sequestrating their arms and compelling them to provide a substitute for musters and service. The owners were, of course, responsible for the repair and maintenance of the arms with which they were charged, and after the musters the arms of recusants were taken back into safe custody.

At the head of this force was the Lord Lieutenant who, in Norfolk at any rate, seems to have left the details to the deputy lieutenants. It was the deputy lieutenants who arranged for the dates and places of musters, who appointed the subordinate officers, the captains of foot and horse, and who made arrangements for changes in assessments and saw that the chief constables for the hundreds returned the necessary lists of persons liable to service.

¹ W. Rye, *State Papers relating to Musters, Beacons and Shipmoney in Norfolk*; cf. also Hudson and Tungey in *Norfolk and Norwich Architectural Soc.*, Vol. XIV.

The lord lieutenant appears, in the brief glances we have of him, as a harassed official, confronted on one side by a council, full of sorrowful indignation and threatening the dire and most awful wrath of his liege sovereign, and on the other by deputy lieutenants, who were unable to put the musters on a satisfactory footing owing to the slackness of captains who failed to hold musters or return certificates.

They strove hard, holding meetings, with exemplary zeal, immediately on receipt of letters from the lord lieutenant, and discussing in a most businesslike fashion the various problems involved; what, for example, should be done with the wealthy inhabitants of Norwich who refused to find horses for their lands in the county, or whether justices should be grouped together to find lances. But all was in vain. The certificates were never handed in, as in 1617, when of thirty-two hundreds only fourteen made returns, and even such as came to hand told a lamentable tale of defective weapons, powder and match deficient in quantity and decayed in quality, of carts no longer available, and pioneers dead these many years and never replaced.

Whether the appointment of Bacon and others as commissioners of musters in 1614¹ was an effort to improve on the system of deputy lieutenants by entrusting the immediate organization to a more compact body, directly commissioned by the crown, it is impossible to say, but, if so, the result was just as bad under the new commissioners as under the old deputy lieutenants.

The professional element in the militia was supplied by the muster master. Appointed by the lord lieutenant, he was responsible for taking the view of arms and seeing that the militiamen were proficient in their drill and in the use of their weapons. His salary was apparently charged on the county, and some difficulty was found in raising it. In Elizabeth's time the muster-master for Norfolk had been Captain Worlock whose salary (£240) had been raised with considerable difficulty. After Worlock the office was shared by two gentlemen of the county who had about £80 per annum each. When Curzon was appointed, some time before October 1609, it was suggested that he should have £100 per annum with prospects of an increase.

A duty which also fell on the deputy lieutenants was that of seeing that beacons were kept ready and watchmen appointed to fire them. The agreement between Bacon and Edward Thompson

¹ S.P., p. xl.

of Blakeney,¹ however, has, I think, nothing to do with this as it seems obvious from the terms that the beacons of which Thompson was placed in charge were purely for navigation. The question of beacons appears to have been considered at meetings of deputy lieutenants, and some little difficulty was occasioned in assigning the responsibility for upkeep, as some were maintained privately and some by the hundreds.

One problem which caused much trouble was the assessment and mustering of the clergy. As a body the clergy claimed the right to assess themselves and frequently absented themselves from the musters. The problem of whether they should be mustered by the lord lieutenant or the bishop was raised at a conference between the lord lieutenant and the deputy lieutenants in 1605, but the same problem arose again in 1616. The solution suggested by the council was that they should be assessed by the bishop, but mustered and their weapons viewed at the musters for the hundreds in which they resided. One of the most interesting muster documents in the collection is the clergy assessment for 1608. The wealthiest rectors were those of Brancester, Terrington and Saham Tony, who were each charged with one light horse. As a whole the clergy provided 27 muskets, 27 calivers, 27 corslets and 27 petronels.² But in spite of the decision of the Council and the obvious inconvenience of mustering the clergy separately, complaints continue to be made of their abstention from the musters.

The scale of assessment caused some difficulty. In 1605 it was laid down as follows:

£200 in land or £2,000 in goods, to provide a lance and foot armour.

100 marks in land or 1,000 marks in goods, to provide a light horse with foot armour, i.e. a corslet and musket.

£40 in land or £500 in goods a petronel and foot armour.

£15 in land or £200 in goods a corslet or musket.

£10 in land or 200 marks in goods a caliver.

But it was pointed out that some change ought to be made because when the statute was made 200 marks in land was worth more than 300 in 1605.

¹ See p. 27.

² For a similar list for the diocese of Lincoln see C. W. Foster, *State of the Church* (Lincoln Record Society, 1926), p. 145.

One or two rather interesting points emerge from a study of some of the certificates returned by the hundreds. One is that the Norfolk returns, unlike the Northants returns, made no mention of the number of trained men. Another was the way in which chief constables of the hundreds seized upon tools charged to the militia as security for debts owed to them by the hundred. Thus in 1619 the constable of Northoe states that the pickaxes, beetles and shovels charged upon the hundred were detained by a former constable, Henry Booth, as security for £1 13s. 4d., which he said was owed to him by the hundred.

That very little effort was made to keep the stores of munitions up to strength is shown by the return made by Holt in 1608 which gives the amount in hand and the amount charged in 1601. Less than half of the powder, match and bullet remained and most of the powder was useless.

The difficulty of storing munitions must have been considerable. Pioneers' tools would be easy to deal with, but powder and match would present a problem to the unfortunate constable. Sometimes, we know, it was stored in the church, but the risk of pilferage or explosion would be considerable. Sometimes the difficulty was avoided by dividing the stock. One constable says that he had some, his brother had some and some was stored at Norwich. The practice of storing these supplies at Norwich seems to have been fairly common. Possibly the Norwich men who stored it had warehouse accommodation to spare, or perhaps they were gunsmiths who were prepared to take the powder and allow the hundred to draw supplies from them at need.

One salient fact is brought home by a study of these muster papers, that the strictures passed on every levy of militia in England from the time of Buckingham to the Civil War were well merited. As we have seen, this service was most unpopular, and the militia, in spite of the efforts of the Privy Council, was neither well equipped nor well trained, for though we have no direct evidence in these papers as to training, the very infrequency with which musters were held and the short time allowed for them must have prevented any really adequate training, though the city trained bands may have been better off in this respect.

III. AS CLERK OF THE MARKET OF METHWOLD AND DEPUTY STEWARD OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

In 1604 Bacon bought the office of clerk of the market of Meth-

would and a few of the documents refer to him in that capacity. None of the documents calls for any special comment. Bacon became deputy steward for the Duchy of Lancaster in 1583, and it may be due to this that we have the curious bill of costs for dealing with a whale cast ashore in 1588. The Stiffkey Papers have shown that such wreck of the sea could be the cause of much local trouble and conflict of jurisdiction¹. But there was no dispute over the possession of the whale in 1588 and the only difficulties that had to be contended with were those of wind and weather. The whole village seems to have done quite well out of the whale. We have glimpses of men hired to watch the whale by day and night, of the more substantial villagers hiring carts and lighters to carry away the oil, of difficulties encountered, when a poor man had 2*d.* for wading to the cart when it stuck, of a gale which severely damaged the tent which sheltered the watchers, of a general hunt round the village for buckets and kettles in which to render the blubber and of barrels of one sort or another to store the oil. Some of the barrels were badly sprung, and a local cooper put in a day's work repairing them. It is refreshing to note that after being put to this use, the kettles were cleaned, for Shyne's boy had 1*s.* for scouring them.

Other local tradesmen provided coal and billets to boil the kettles; even cork for bungs had to be bought. The total cost for the whole job was about £15. The work was well organized and we have notes of the names of watchmen on particular nights and a list of cutters, fire tenders, skimmers, ending with Old Lyster whose unpleasant duty was to "carry awaie the garbage." Presumably the disposal of the oil was not Bacon's business, which is unfortunate, as it would have been interesting to know what the value of the fish was.

IV. IN HIS PRIVATE CAPACITY

Though there are many documents dealing with Bacon's private affairs, they do not serve to throw much new light on them or on the man himself. The Stiffkey Papers show him to have tended towards Puritanism and to have been keenly interested in getting suitable ministers for the neighbouring parishes.² His activities in this direction are here illustrated by the letter from the inhabitants

¹ S.P., pp 201, 202, 208. For earlier and later procedure and value, see an article on "Royal Fish" in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1936.

² S.P., p. 194 *et seq.*

of Wissett asking him to use his influence to bring about a reconciliation between their minister, Mr. Fairhether, and his brother, between whom there was a sad lack of brotherly love.

One interesting feature brought out by the private papers here is the extent to which a system of barter prevailed in seventeenth century Norfolk. One might expect to find it amongst the poorer classes, but even a man of Bacon's social position made frequent use of it. Many of his tradesmen's accounts show a system of off-setting agricultural produce against labour or goods supplied. Thus Goodman Raylie of Cley presents a bill for a weird miscellany of fish, iron and hops amounting to £30 3s. 1d., whilst Bacon counter-claims for goods supplied, leaving a balance against Bacon of £12 8s. 11d.¹ In 1584 Todd supplies beds and furniture to the value of £26 8s. 9d., and Bacon claims for 100 combes of barley, leaving Todd in his debt.

Equally informative are Bacon's relations with local craftsmen. The local smith, Tom Pepper, rented his smithy from Bacon and we find Bacon standing surety for him for some iron, presumably bought on credit, but, being a cautious man, Bacon took a lien on Pepper's tools as security, which enables us to get a glimpse of the contents of an Elizabethan forge.

Another interesting document is the agreement for the removal and re-erection of a windmill at Mostyn.

More intimate connections existed between Bacon and the local carpenter, Stephen Chappell. Chappell seems to have been by way of being a building contractor and apparently was responsible for some extensive alterations to Bacon's house in 1578-80.² The elasticity of the Elizabethan household is shown by the way in which Bacon boarded several of the workmen engaged on the repairs. Here again, the inevitable tendency to payment in kind emerges. Chappell received odd sums of money at various times, a quantity of rye, a quantity of malt and a saw. And yet the total cost of the work was under £30.

Two years later we find Bacon and Chappell entering into an agreement about the building of a stable. One noteworthy feature of this document is that Bacon appears to have employed an architect to draw up the plan of the building. The terms of payment are interesting—equal amounts at the beginning of the work,

¹ p. 45.

² The date of these documents is instructive in connexion with the building of the existing Hall.

at the laying of the first placher at the raising of the roof and at the finish of the work. The payment at the raising of the roof probably gave rise to the custom which still lingers in eastern England of "drinks round" for the workmen at this stage of the building.¹

Admirers of Elizabethan chimneys will be surprised to find how little Bacon paid for some in 1580. It is also noteworthy that Bole, who did the work, is described as "roughmason." Of course, once the moulded bricks had been bought, the laying of them was not, perhaps, a very skilled occupation.

Our documents are not entirely concerned with Bacon as a man of business. We catch glimpses of him in less formal character, buying a few bird nets or, to turn to a more serious matter, acting as guardian to Porte's orphan children.

Such are some of the topics on which we glean information. If our information is scanty, if it raises more problems than it solves, we can but console ourselves with the thought that our complaint is common enough in historical scholarship and that in spite of all their imperfections, these documents, together with the Stiffkey Papers, give us as much information as we are ever likely to obtain on the life and work of an Elizabethan justice and squire.²

¹ The ceremony is, I believe, widespread. In Provence it is known as *la cabade*.

² The spelling of personal and place names of the original documents has been retained, but dates corrected to New Style. In preparing this edition I have made much use of the work of Dr. H. W. Saunders, which has been of the greatest value. I owe much also to the wise guidance of Dr. Hubert Hall.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

PAPERS RELATING TO NATHANIEL BACON AS JUSTICE OF THE PEACE (INCLUDING SPECIAL COMMISSIONS)

- No. 1. File of depositions taken at Swafham, Norfolk, before Sir Henry Northland, Kt., Sir John Heigham, Kt., Nathaniel Bacon and Richard Stubbe, Esqrs., by virtue of a commission of the Exchequer concerning the salt monopoly at Lynn.

There are three groups of examinants, one from Lynn and north Norfolk, one from Boston and the parts adjacent and one from Suffolk and Cambridge.

The first group depose that since the patent was granted to Sir Thomas Wilkes no white salt had been made in Lynn and the adjacent creeks and havens except a little ten years previously. Wilkes had sub-assigned the patent to John Smith, searcher of the port of Lynn, who had engrossed and bought up all salt brought to Lynn and the adjacent creeks. Smith and Wilkes had prevented all buying and selling of salt in Lynn and the adjacent towns. Numerous persons, including most of the deponents in this section, had been arrested for selling salt, some of them confined in Lynn by the officers of Smith or the Admiralty marshal and one (Inman) taken to London and confined for eight days in the Marshalsea. Most of these persons had paid fines up to £6 for release and been forced to enter into heavy bonds not to buy or sell salt. Many deponents had been forced to sell salt to Smith and his officers at Smith's price.

Before the grant of the patent salt was 8*d.* to 1*s.* a bushel, sometimes eighteenpence in winter. Since the grant of the patent it

2 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

had been eighteenpence to 2s. a bushel. The weigh (forty bushels) formerly costing 25s. 6d. to 40s. after the patent cost £3 to £4 6s. 8d. When the patent was suspended in 1598 the price fell from 2s. to 1s. 4d. per bushel.

The patentees habitually mixed good and bad salt and forced buyers to take the mixture. They had made £100 out of the cargo of two ships. Frequently there was no salt to be bought in Lynn and the Scots said they would bring more salt if there was more buying and selling.

Names of deponents. Richard Riches mariner, Henry Violet merchant, Samuel Thevelay salter, John Barker mariner, Richard Whaller mariner, Thomas Symonds mariner, David More mariner, John Kercher merchant, Richard Tyler mariner, Briand Lupton mariner, Robert Kercher Chandler, Thomas Clifford mariner, John Bond mariner, Robert Young, John Bassett merchant, Richard Walker mariner, Thomas Glover mariner, John Inman merchant, John Paynter mariner, George Gibson, all of Lynn. John Atkyn mariner of Wells, Thomas Pigge fishmonger, Robert Tipping Chandler and John Edwards fishmonger, all of Wisbech. William Wasselbye mariner of Wells, Robert Osborne of St Ives and Edmund Gatesould mariner.

The Boston and Lincolnshire deponents agree in general with the Lynn group but principally by hearsay. They alleged that the patentees bought "by water measure" but sold by "land measure."¹ They also said that the "salt-coates" could be reopened if salters could get a price of 40s. to 46s. 8d. per weigh. There had been scarcity since the grant of the patent.

Names of deponents. John Lancaster mariner, and John Ampereford, both of Boston, and James Johnson, gent., of Fishtoft.

The Suffolk and Cambridge group disagree with the others. They denied that there had been any shortage or increase of price after the grant of the patent and alleged that the opposite had happened. Before the patent the price was sometimes 4s. a bushel, after the patent it had cost from 20d. to 2s. Salt from Lynn was sold cheaper than that from towns, e.g. Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester, where no patent was in force, and the renewal of the patent would not be to the prejudice of the country. Before the patent was granted the salt trade at Lynn had been in the hands

¹ A customary measure used on the quays, usually 5 pecks to the bushel.

of about three merchants and foreigners had not been allowed to buy or sell.

Names of deponents. Simon Suckerman gent., Ambrose Jefferey yeoman, Edward Elsing yeoman, and John Hall yeoman, all of Mildenhall, Suffolk. Thomas Manning chandler and Robert Wallys gent, both of Cambridge.

- No. 2. Inquisition taken at Sheringham, Norfolk, 25th August, 31 Eliz. (1589), before William Clifton, Kt., Henry Woodhouse, Kt., Robert Southwell, Kt., and Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., concerning the robbery of the goods of certain Scots merchants by shipwreck. (Latin)

The jurors say that a Scots ship laden with goods belonging to Scots merchants was wrecked by storm on Thursday 2nd February 1589 at Runton at 3 a.m. About 200 of the local inhabitants assembled amongst whom was Roger Wyndham, Esq., of Feldrig. The merchants begged for help, offering Roger and others half the value of salvage. The crowd and Roger thereupon entered the ship and took goods to the house of the rector of Runton and left them there to be kept safe, in the presence and by the consent of the merchants, to whom they gave the keys. Certain persons took certain goods for their own use, but Roger hindered them and took the goods from them and returned them to the merchants. Other malefactors whose names are in the attached schedule¹ took the goods specified in the schedule and secretly removed them and other malefactors unknown took many other goods. At 7 p.m. Roger went home.

On the following day on complaint of spoil and on account of the danger of the ship breaking up, Francis Wymondham Justice of King's Bench and lord of the manor of that place, came with the Scots and as far as they could prevented further spoil and made the ship safe. The remaining goods in the ship were removed at the cost and charges of Wymondham and put by the view and with the consent of the merchants in his house at Beeston and the keys of the houses given to the Scots. Wymondham issued warrants to the constables of the townships of Sheringham, Beeston, Runton and Cromer whereof the spoilers of the ship were thought to be inhabitants, commanding the constables to enquire and search for stolen goods. The constables with the ministers and

¹ The schedule is missing

4 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

servants of Wymondham made search in houses, chests and other places and found divers goods stolen from the ship hidden there. These were kept safe with other goods and delivered to the merchants who put them away.

But who were the authors of the spoil beyond what is said above and the damage done by water and by the crowd of sailors then present or into whose hands the other goods of the merchants then came other than as is aforesaid the jury know not.

No. 3. File of depositions taken at Fakenham, Norfolk, 27 September, 40 Eliz. (1597) in the case of Attorney General *v.* John Pigeon and others before Thomas Cromwell and Nath. Bacon, Esqs., by commission from the Star Chamber, to them, Edward Lord Cromwell and Sir Thomas Maunsell, Kt., or any two of them directed.

About the beginning of September 1596 John Parker, Richard Witherley, John Saddes, James Lynn and Robert Reynolds, alias Jefferies, who were the bailiffs of the sheriff of Norfolk, came to the house of Thomas Watts of Mattshall, Norfolk, to execute a warrant for his arrest on a suit between him and John Pigeon, in the Court of Requests. It seems that they read the warrant, though this is denied by one or two of the plaintiff's deponents, but John Watts, son of Thomas, who lived with him, apparently denied them entrance whilst his wife Grace attacked them with a spit, set the dog on them, and, aided by her maid-servant, threw stones at them. The bailiffs then broke down the wall of the house, knocked down John Watts and his wife and took Thomas Watts, who asked that Pigeon should be sent for, but stoutly refused to pay more than he had already offered. In the scuffle John Watts received a blow on the head from which he is alleged to have died the following spring.

Thomas Watts is admitted to have been old, fat, and bedridden; but in spite of this the bailiffs dressed him and put him in a cart on two feather beds, to take him to London. By the following day they had reached Thetford where John and James Watts (sons of Thomas), who accompanied them, asked them to stay, offering to pay expenses and a bribe of 20s. The bailiffs refused and set off for Bubram, Cambs., at 3 a.m. on a cold frosty morning. At Bubram they received a letter from the sheriff of Norfolk commanding them not to take Watts to London if it was likely to

endanger his life. They refused to act on the sheriff's letter and when John Watts tried to restrain them from going on, by taking away the feather beds; Pigeon put a "locke of straw" in the cart for old Watts, saying it was good enough and too good for him. They then took him to London, where he was presumably put in the Fleet and died there a month later of hard usage on the journey, as the officers of the Warden of the Fleet are alleged to have stated.

Names of deponents. Henry Watts cordwainer, Grace Watts wife of John Watts yeoman, Richard Cottenet labourer, all of Mattshall, Norfolk; Roger Watts of Deareham goldsmith, John Watts of Batshall, Norfolk yeoman and Roger Bryce of Leppeham, Norfolk yeoman.

No. 4. A return of Corn in Norfolk.¹

The form in which the document is made up is best shown by a complete transcript of the returns for the first village. Owing to its great length, only the totals for the remaining villages can be given.

Wyston

Widow Braye in barley 10 co² in malt 40 co of peason 6 bush

John Bradock in malt 10 co.

John Kynge of rye 40 co of barley 140 co of malt 80 co of peasons 26 bush. Sown of barley 120 acres.

William Gould in barley 20 co in malt 15 co of peasons 12 bush Sown of barley 14 acres.

Petter Bushope gent, of wheat 4 co of rye 25 co, of barley 80 co of malt 30 co. of peasons 12 bush Sown of barley 40 acres

George Bryge gent. of rye 40 co. of barley 60 co.

Attached is a list of persons instructed to come before the Justices at Holt sessions for service in Holt sessions for service in Holt Hundred 1595.

Corn is occasionally mentioned as having been sold. The following prices occur :

Barley at Edgefield and Stoddie	
	6/8 7/6 8/- per co.
Wheat at Benningham	16/- per co
Rye at Stoddie	13/4 per co
Oats at Briston	4/4 per co.

¹ The date of this document is possibly 1630. See Rye, *op. cit.*, p 179.

² The abbreviation "co." is generally used for the combe measure

6 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Township.	No of Farmers	Barley	Rye	Mashn	Malt.	Peas.	Wheat	Acres Sown
Wyston	6	310 co †	105 co.	nil	165 co.	56 bush.	4 co.	174 barley
Blakney	5	500 "	45 "	"	100 " 1	43 "	5 "	210 acres barley
Morston	6	520 "	84 "	"	19 "	55 "	10 "	207 acres barley
Langham	10	666 "	194 "	"	30 "	81 "	30 "	122 acres barley 182 acres unspecified
Glaunford	4	135 "	16 "	"	nil	23 "	14 "	35 acres barley 34 acres unspec
Bayfyld	1	390 "	140 "	"	"	25 "	nil	100 acres barley
Lorrynset	4	480 "	42 "	"	"	51 "	"	210 acres barley
Saxlyngham	5	670 " 2	44 "	"	"	48 "	60 co.	125 acres barley
Salthouse	4(36)*	200 "	—	39 co	"	nil	nil	78 acres unspec
Clay	7(86)	690 "	90 "	9 "	210 co.	"	15 co.	193 acres unspec.
Kelling	2(18)	110 "	10 "	7 "	10 "	"	6 "	52 acres unspec
Waybourne	6(61)	420 "	73 "	14 "	50 "	"	64 "	146 acres unspec.
Bodham	2(18)	100 "	5 "	nil	16 "	15 co.	10 "	54 acres
Holte	6(61)	320 "	14 "	—	10 "	5 "	27 "	106 acres
Hempstoke	4(67)	375 "	115 "	30 co.	20 "	nil	Wheat 5 Oats 33	45 barley
Hunworth	3(28)	90 "	33 "	9 "	5 "	2 co.	25 co. 6 b. 10 co	57 barley
Stoddie	4(40)	195 "	49 "	30 "	29 "	nil	5 "	28 barley 20 unspec.
Beningham	4(25)	148 "	10 "	nil	nil	"	80 "	48 unspec.
Burrow	4(36)	132 "	54 "	"	16 co.	"	28 "	56 barley
Parva	8(54)	234 "	97 "	"	21 "	"	37 "	15 unspec.
Bristow	5(34)	300 "	17 "	10 co.	5 "	10 co.	16 "	76 barley
Edgefield	2(20)	90 "	40 "	nil	nil	nil	20 "	72 barley
Melton	2(6)	35 "	40 "	—	—	—	10 "	30 unspec.
Swanton 3.	5(20)	331 "	100 "	—	—	—	90 "	5 unspec.
Bunthorpe	4(29)	300 "	55 "	—	—	—	37 "	67 unspec.
Bathele	5 4	600 " 3	30 "	—	20 co.	—	30 "	60 unspec.
Sharyngton	3(21)	110 "	—	—	—	—	—	20 4 "
Brynton	5(34)	360 "	20 "	—	—	—	10 "	20 "
Thurnage								30 "

* Figures in brackets are numbers in households.

† co = a combe = 4 bushels.

1 Plus 100 qrs malt and barley sold to Mr. Johnson of Aldborough in Suffolk.

2 Includes some malt.

3 One farmer has 3 or 4 weyes of chesel (i.e. cheese).

4 MSS. torn.

5 Includes some malt.

No. 5. File of petitions and depositions relating to the case of Ferroure *v.* Harwyn, 1580.

Document A.—The Petition of Harwyn.

George Harwyn of Longham, husbandman, says that Ferroure the younger of Grassinghall about Hilary 1579 had him arrested and him and his sureties bound to the High Sheriff of Norfolk for his appearance. Harwyn went to Basterd, an attorney, to appear for him in London which Basterd agreed to do, unless it was an obligation needing special bail.¹ On the day of appearance Basterd offered common bail to Buste, Ferroure's attorney, who refused, and asked for special bail, saying that Ferroure had two obligations of Harwyn of £20, so Basterd refused to appear. Ferroure sued out a *cape* and had the sheriff of Norfolk amerced 40s. for failure to produce Harwyn.

For this amercement the sheriff put in suit at Hilary term, 1580, the obligation of Harwyn and his sureties, to their undoing. At the end of Hilary term Harwyn heard that Ferroure intended to arrest him and so went to Thetford assizes and put in special bail before the lord chief justice, at whose lodgings he offered to pay Ferroure what he could.

After Easter term Ferroure had Harwyn arrested despite special bail and had him in Norwich gaol three days, refusing the request of Harwyn's friends that he should take a bond. George Clement of Kings Lynn saw the under sheriff, told him how the case stood and offered a bond of a hundred marks to indemnify the high sheriff, and Harwyn was released.

At Easter term next following Ferroure's two obligations of £20 turned out to be three actions of trespass, one in £10 damages for walking on Ferroure's land, the others for beasts damage feasant, one at "shacke time when every mans cattell in Norfolk go at large." At midsummer term Ferroure won these actions by default and had a writ to enquire of damage. At last Norwich assizes Harwyn filed a bill of complaint before the lord chief justice who remitted the cause to be heard by Lord Cromwell and Mr. Ruge. They heard the parties but Ferroure refused to make any terms. Ferroure then got his writ of damage enquired upon at the next county day and as the jury knew nothing except by Ferroure's

¹ For special bail and process of *latitat* see W. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, Vol. I., p. 219.

8 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

statement they awarded 10s. damages and 13s. 4*d*. costs which Ferroure by craft increased to £3 3s. 4*d*. He again arrested Harwyn for this and had him lodged in Norwich castle. Some friends of Harwyn bailed him out but Ferroure has a *nisi prius* action against him at the coming Thetford assizes. Harwyn has sold horse, cart, corn, plough, neat and swine and knows not what to do.

Document B.

Henry Holme of Beylinge Norfolk, clerk and Robert Sarley his son in law were bound in a bond of £20 for the payment of £10 to Henry Downing of Bresley. The bond was disputed and the money was not paid. John Ferroure of Gressenhall, junior, brought an action of *latitat* against Holme and cast him and Sarley into Norwich gaol.

Mr. Haden sent for Ferroure and asked him why he bought a bond which was in dispute. Ferroure said that he accepted it in part payment of a debt from Downing for some cattle and Ferroure and Holme came to terms before Haden that Holme was to pay £12 at Michaelmas, 1579, but he could only pay £6 and so by the intervention of Lord Cromwell and the other justices at Michaelmas session at Norwich Ferroure gave him till New Year's Day when Sarley paid him, but Ferroure refused to surrender the bond and still continues to refuse to surrender it.

Document C.

This appears to be the notes of the various charges made against Ferroure. It begins by a complaint from Harwyn giving the substance of Document A and going on to add the following charges. Ferroure lent Henry Laborne of Weiton £5 for half a year and received in return a grass close worth 20s. The £5 was payable at Christmas; Laborne tendered it but the money was not received. A fortnight later Laborne wanted 10s. so renewed the loan for another half-year for 6 combes of barley. The following year Laborne became bound to Ferroure to pay him 30s. per annum during both their lives. Laborne has therefore paid for the £5, the close, the barley and £6 and still owes 30s. per annum.

He lent Mendham of Hichin £10, to receive thereof in one year twelve combes of barley. His method is to take surety for the principal and surety for the loan and the bond for the loan is made to Mary Hoe his stepdaughter. Often he has a pawn of cattle to

the value of the principal which is bought and sold by virtue of a penny.

To vex Ralph Agas clerk, Ferrour bought a bill, by which John Howes who witnessed to Agas for the reading of the articles touching uniformity in religion, was indebted to one Beales for 7 nobles. Ferrour arrested Howes who paid him the sum in nobles but Ferrour then demanded 9s. for the arrest. Howes paid him 7s. and sent the balance by his wife. Ferrour refused it and said he would sue him for the whole sum. This put Mrs. Howes in such a panic that she prematurely gave birth to a stillborn child. Ferrour received the 2s. but did not deliver the speciality. (Declared before the bishop of Norwich and Mr. Rugg^a)

Ferrour lent 40s. to John Fraunce at a rate of interest of 3s 4d. per quarter and a second 40s. on the same terms. The day after the money was due he arrested him and drove him to compound at £6 odd besides interest. (Affirmed to George Clement, gent., and Oliver Bucknham).

Ferrour bought a bond of £10 forfeited by Holme the parson of Riselay to Henry Downington upon such light cause that Mr. William Howden and others withstood payment thereof for a long time. Ferrour imprisoned Holme until he received payment of the £10 but refused to deliver the bond. (Known to Lord Cromwell and a great part of the county.)

Out of spite against one Sire over a dispute about commons Ferrour bought a forfeited bond which Sire had discharged, except for 6s., and recovered the whole sum from him, forcing him to sell his cattle. (Declared by Sire to Ralph Agas, George Button and others.)

Ferrour arrested by *latitat* George Button, curate, and school-master to his wife's daughter's child as well as to others in the parish, because Button now and then in bad weather took the child to Ferrour's house. Button was forced to travel to London, nearly a hundred miles, to put in special bail, Ferrour taking two actions of trespass against him for coming on his ground though Button can prove that he is retained by Ralph Agas parson of the parish to aid him in his cure. Ferrour did this out of spite against Agas. (Apparently known.)

Ferrour bought so many debts of Burwell of Gressenhall that he fled and is now dead, and has left his wife "and a chary of children" to be supported by the town although she had lands before the troubles. (Known to the whole town.)

10 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

- No. 6. Depositions taken at Norwich, 4th April, 37 Eliz. (1595) before Nath. Bacon and Miles Corbett by virtue of a commission of Star Chamber in the suit of Grene *v.* Chamberlain.

The case refers to a series of financial transactions between John, Robert and William Grene and John Chamberlain. Some years previously the brothers Grene had made 16 obligations to Chamberlain. Chamberlain had enfeoffed John, Robert, and William Grene of a messuage and certain lands in Holt and Letheringsall to them and their heirs on condition that they should pay £126 at the rate of £8 a year except for the last year when the payment would be £6. Chamberlain made over a bond to Nicholas Mollyn of Holt by which the Grene's were bound to pay Chamberlain £8. This was not met and Mollyn sued John Grene who cleared the bond. Robert Grene admitted the obligations and feoffment, he also said that he heard from John Grene that 10 of the 16 obligations were satisfied by William Grene, the plaintiff in this action, during the lifetime of John Chamberlain, and the others discharged to Agnes Chamberlain, widow and administratrix of John Chamberlain; and that John Grene admitted to him that he had not paid any of the money for redemption. William Grene made entry upon part of the lands and houses in Holt in the name of all three, in default of payment of certain obligations and was also present when John Grene signed his rights in the said houses and lands to William Grene. It was also alleged that Cicely Grene, widow of John Grene, admitted that her husband paid rent to William Grene for his house.

The names of the deponents are as follows. Simon Fenur, Edgfield, yeoman, William Staxton, Saxlingham, yeoman, John Tooley, Briston, yeoman, Henry Born, Keeling, Nicholas Mollyn, Holt, yeoman, Robert Grene, Borson, yeoman, Christopher Pinchbeck, Salthouse, linen weaver, Robert Grene the younger, Salt-house, linen weaver, Edmund Gryme, Terringham, yeoman.

- No. 7. Further document in the case of Harwyn *v.* Ferroure (see No. 5). It is the petition of Harwyn to the lord chief justice, the substance of which is given in No. 5(a).
- No. 8. A bundle of overseers' accounts for the year 1615-16, evidently presented to the justices of the peace in April 1616, probably at Holt sessions.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS II

There are accounts for the following parishes, Walsingham Magna, Wigston, Thusford, Banye, Walsingham Parva, Melton Constable, Warham, Feeld Alling, Snoring Magna, Wells, Stiffkey, Houghton iuxta Walsingham, Holkham, and Lindingham. The accounts are all made up in a similar form, though in a few cases the definite amount of the rate is stated and not in others. The Melton Constable account which follows will serve as an example.

Melton Constable the accompt of Simon Lavers and Nicholas Nayler overseers for the said town of Melton for the yeare 1615 last past

Collected

Im primis of Mr. Asteley and his farmer

XIIs.

Item of Mr. Foster

IVs

Of Simon Lavers

IVs

Of Nicholas Naylour

IIIs.

Of William Olley

XVIII^d

Of Gregory Rasie

IS

Of Roger Thompson

VI^d.

Summa collected

XXVIS.

Distributed.

And given to John Farwell weeklye *vid.* which amounts to the sum of

XXVIS.

Restat nichil

The stock to set the poor on worke

XLS.

Simon Lavers his mark. Nicholas Naylor

We do nominate and appoint William Olley and Roger Thompson to be overseers for the next yere 1616.

No. 9. Similar bundle of overseers' accounts for the year 1615-16 presented in April 1616.

There are accounts for the following parishes. Letheringset, Edgefield, Mersham, Thonage, Sharington, Stody, Bodham, Gunthorpe, Waybourn, Cley iuxta Mare, Saplingham, Kelling, Hempstead, Runton, Swanton Novers, Holt Market, Borough Parva, Briston, Salthouse, Glanford and Bayfield, Wyveton, Burningham, Hunworth, and Langham. The bundle also contains a brief of a chancery suit of Goddard *v.* Henry Curson, Maria and Grizel Baxter concerning a mortgage of the manors of Marches and Stanhou alias Calthropes.

12 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

No. 10. Overseers' accounts for the year 1601 for the following parishes. Wighton, Wells, Holkham, Hinderingham, Warham, Walsingham Parva, Fydallinge, Thersford, Walsingham Magna, Snoringham, Houghton next Harpleye.

For the year 1602 for Wighton, Thersford, Walsingham Parva, Stiffkey, Holkham, Hindringham, Houghton next Walsingham.

No. 11. Overseers' accounts for the year 1617 for the following parishes: Welles, Snoring Magna, Stiffkey, Holkham, Binham, Houghton, Hindringham, Warham, Cockthorpe, Walsingham Parva, Fydalling, Thursford, Wighton, and Walsingham Magna. Included in this bundle is a note in the handwriting of Bacon's clerk—

Rules for the overseers at Easter 1618.

(1) Before the meeting. Vide instructions in wishing to be done by overseers according to order at Sessions. To agree of the day and place and to send warrants to chief constables. To make ready orders for new overseers and agree who to do it. A forme of the warrant and to the constables. When first to have charge of new overseers, to be returned at the meeting—that the forme be observed in the account.

(2) To call for return of the warrant from the constables and names of new overseers, etc. To call the overseers appointed the last year by the note and observe their defaults in appearance and demand their warrants. To exclude all but the accomptants out of the court. To examine whether the arrears upon the last accompts be charged in every town. To consider []¹ to the accompts and extract them at leisure and return the defects in any by certificate to the justices. To carry the formes of accompts remaining.

(3) To appoint new overseers and return their warrants to the old.

In another ink :

(1) To prevent all but the Chief constables and the accomptants and to have one to keep the door. To call for the accomptants warrants upon their entering. To charge the arrears or stock and the new rates.

¹ Words illegible.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 13

No. 12. Overseer's accounts for the year 1604-5 for the following parishes :

Wells, Stiffkey, Houlton and Thursford.

No. 13. List of overseers for Hoult Hundred, 1600.

Overseers' accounts 1604-5 for the following parishes : Kelling, Hunworth, Glannford, Letheringset, Cley, Holt, Gunthorpe, Melton Constable, Edgefield, Bristow, Merston, Bodham, Stedye, Brynton, Saxlingham, Waborne, Batheley, Salthouse, Wyveton, Sharnington, Thornage, Snoring Magna, Langham.

No. 14. Overseers' accounts for the year ending Easter 1611 for the following parishes :

Houlton, Barney, Feildallinge, Holkham, Hinderingham, Thursford, Walsingham Parva, Warham, Wighton, Bynham, Walsingham Magna, Snoring Magna, Stiffkey, Wells.

No. 15. Bundle of overseers' accounts for the year ending April 1617 for the following parishes :

Holkham, Stiffkey, Thursford, Barny, Warham, Snoring Magna, Walsingham Parva, Hinderingham, Houghton, Fyldallinge, Wells, Wighton and Walsingham Magna.

No. 16. Receipt by Nathaniel Bacon for payment made by Anne Townshend widow upon composition for an aid due to his majesty, for the marriage of the lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, for all lands of Roger Townshend, Esqr., in Norfolk, the sum of fifty shillings, and for all the lands of Stanhope Townshend, gent., in the same county the sum of ten shillings.

No. 17. File of three documents relating to the affairs of Ralph Dade of Overstrand, a debtor, 1602.

No. 1 is a petition from Dade to the Queen setting forth that he was bound as surety in several sums of money to the value of £63 to John Motte, Robert Evered, Thomas Beck and five others and was unable to pay, and they had brought various suits and prosecutions against him. They had rejected his offer to pay them such quarterly sums as he was able, attempting to force him to sell or surrender to them an estate of twenty nobles which he had by marriage of his wife. He prays that a commission under the privy seal be issued to some commissioners to hear and settle the matter. The petition is signed by Roger Wilbraham.

14 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

No. 2 is a letter from Roger Wilbraham at Whitehall to Sir Arthur Hemingham, Kt., Sheriff of Norfolk, Nathaniel Bacon, Thomas Farmer and John Founten enclosing the petition and instructing them to examine the parties and try to bring them to an agreement and in the event of failure to do so, to certify by whose default they were unable to do so. 29 Nov. 1602.

No. 3 is a statement of the terms on which Dade compounded with his creditors 21 January 1603.

John Deane of Felbrigge, to whom he owed £10, agreed to take £9 at £1 per annum beginning at Michaelmas twelvemonth.

Thomas Edmion of Sallowe to be paid at the time due. John Catlock of Northorp was prepared to take his debt at 20s. per annum. Nicholas Bacon of Cromer to whom Dade owed £8 agreed to take £6 at £1 per annum from All Saints next on bond by Johnson his "formene," the remaining 40s. at 10s. per annum on Dade's bond. Robert Evered of Felmingham to whom Dade owed £5 10s., for which he had Dade, Mete and Woodhouse bound, refused at first to accept any compromise. Later he agreed to accept £1 at Lady Day and £4 at Michaelmas in lieu of debt, interest and charges. If the £4 could not be paid it was to be continued on good assurance.

John Mottes of Sheringham claimed a debt of £12 due on January 1 last, the parties bound being Woodhouse, Dade and Burrowes, 40s. being interest. He further claimed £5 5s. in another bond of which five shillings was interest for five months. Dade said that he gave him five bushels of wheat as well as the 40s. interest. Mottes also claimed 24s. for two cades of herrings supplied to Dade and 20s. for two warpes¹ of ling and 5s. lent to Dade's wife. Dade said he had paid 40s. to Mottes' wife on the bond of £5 and had paid for the fish. It was finally agreed that John Deane of Felbrigge and Richard Cooke of Sheringham should act as arbitrators and the final debt should be settled in three years in equal annual payments, beginning at Lady Day twelvemonth, Dade and Johnson to be bound for payment.

No. 18. Small notebook containing memoranda of Nath. Bacon beginning 1584.

The first section comprises a list of recognizances entered into before him.

¹ A cade is a barrel containing six long hundreds (i.e. 720) herrings. A warp is defined by the *N.E.D.* as two, three or four. At Yarmouth 33 warps went to the hundred. Obviously another measure is meant here.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 15

Date.	Name.	Amount.	Condition.
22 March 1584	Wm. Ivery	£20	To appear at sessions
	Edward Sharpe	£5	do
29 March 1585	George Bonde	£20	do
14 April 1585	Wm. Iverye	£10	do
	Hy. Church	£10	do
	John Pondych	£10	Keeping alehouse
12 May 1585	Wm. Brown and		
	Robt. Bevys	£5	Sureties for the above
30 June 1585	Simon Mussett	£20	To keep the peace and ap- pear at next sessions
	Chas Legge and	*£10	Sureties for the above
	David Osborne		
30 Aug. 1585	Thos. Walker	£10	To appear at sessions on charge of bastardy
17 Sept. 1585	John Cooper remitted the peace against Simon Mussett and Charles Legge		
13 Oct. 1585	John Man	£10	To give evidence at next sessions
30 Nov. 1585	James Armstead	£10	To keep the peace and to appear at next sessions
	Rich. Lawson, clerk	£10	do
7 Dec 1585	Roger Armsteade	£10	do
	Jas. Armstead	£10	do
1 Jan. 1586	Alan Stockdale	£20	To appear at sessions
	John Stockdale	£20	do
2 Jan. 1586	Gowan Stockdale	£20	do
	Robt Harver	£10	do
	John Stockdale	£10	do
7 Jan. 1586	Robt. Loades	£10	To give evidence at next sessions
16 Jan. 1586	Edward Oliver	£20	To keep the peace and ap- pear at next sessions
	Thos. Taylor	£20	do
15 Aug 1586	Edward Garret	£10	To keep the peace
	Wm. Kekkin	£5	do
31 Aug. 1586	John Hall, clerk	£20	To keep the peace against Rich. Burrey and appear at sessions
	Thomas Hall and	£5	Sureties for the above
	Thomas Welston		
19 Sept. 1586	Thomas Sturgys	£10	To keep the peace against Thos. Cadlyman and Thos. Wochton

16 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Date.	Name.	Amount.	Condition.
9 Oct 1586	Robert Porter	£10	No cause given
	Thomas Heare and Laurence Lynch	£5	Sureties for Porter's appearance
12 Oct 1586	Robt. Applegarth	£5	To keep good order in his alehouse
	John Allin and Wm. Brook	50s	Sureties for the above
30 Oct. 1586	Adam Kett	£20	To appear at sessions
15 Nov 1586	Henry Vyncent	£20	do
21 Nov 1586	James Graie	£10	To appear to prosecute John Sherman for felony at next sessions
	John Apowdych	£10	do
4 Nov 1588	John Lambirde	£20	To appear at next assizes
	Wm. Hollock	£20	To appear at sessions
1 Oct 1588	Cuthbert Rampton	£20	To keep the peace against John Murland and appear at sessions
	Roger Witney	£10	Surety for above
1 Feb. 1589	Nich. Towting	£5	To keep order in his alehouse
	John Grixe and Edmund Walker	50s	Sureties for above
12 Feb. 1589	James Goulding	£10	To appear at sessions
14 Feb. 1589	Edward Gyrlston	£10	do
15 Feb. 1589	Simon Bryght	£20	do
18 Feb. 1589	Margaret Angel	£10	To appear to prosecute and give evidence against Margaret Skelby at sessions.

The entries continue to 14 Sept. 1591.

This is followed by a draft of a letter on behalf of one John Mason, who had been compelled to go to London by Admiralty process, for dealing with certain wrecks, and requests that persons similarly charged should be dealt with locally.

A draft of a letter on behalf of John Lowson, a poor man, to receive alms.

The next section of the notebook is an account of corn exported since the receipt of letters from the Privy Council, 14 Oct. 1590 to Feb. 1591. 32 licences are granted for the following quantities of foodstuffs.

Wheat, 3010 qrs. ; barley, 4980 qrs. ; oats, 75 qrs. ; rye, 2320 qrs.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 17

260 combes. 30 last.; beans, 240 qrs.; peas, 50 qrs.; malt, 160 qrs.; butter, 40 firkins.

The bulk of the rye was sent to Selby, the bulk of the wheat to London.

Certificate permitting Ben. Bushop merchant to take on board the *Laundrel* (100 tons burthen) bound on a 10 months' voyage to Candy and the Mediterranean, sufficient victuals for the voyage, 10 December 1590. The victuals taken are as follows:

400 stone of beef and pork; 500 Iceland fish; 2,000 biscuits; 15 qrs. of wheat, because their biscuit and meal would not last; 10 qrs. peas, and if the merchant cannot provide these, then an equal quantity of wheat; 1 barrel of butter; 2 wayes of cheese; 1 combe of oatmeal; 5 qrs. of meal; 8 tuns beer.

The certificate is endorsed, 30 men on board.

Similar certificate for victuals for 40 men for a year in the *Ambrose* and *Clement Wilkinson*. (100 tons burthen).

500 stone beef and pork; 2,000 Newland fish; 3,000 biscuits; 20 qrs. wheat; 10 qrs. peas; 6 firkins butter; 3 wayes cheese, 6 bushell oatmeal, 5 qrs. meal; 7 tuns beer.

No. 19. Bundle of miscellaneous letters.

Copy of letter from Nath. Bacon to Sir H. Gaudy. Bacon is anxious that Gaudy should agree with him and Sir Austin Vaggrave in presenting a unanimous opinion in the case of Dawes and Vincent which had been assigned to them for hearing. Bacon is in favour of Dawes. Dawes borrowed £50 of Vincent, giving him as security a 1,000-year lease of certain land. Dawes alleged he repaid Vincent £20. Vincent denied this but Bacon says proof was forthcoming. Vincent collected the rents from the land for two years during which time Dawes was in prison. He thinks Dawes has been badly treated. Undated.

Letter to Sir Nath. Bacon from the inhabitants of Wissett. They thank him for his care in providing them with a minister who has earned a good repute by his preaching and "good conversation of lief." They ask Bacon to write to his brother of Shrublande on behalf of the minister because they understand his brother is interested in one Mr. Josias Fairhether brother to their minister, a man of wealth, "most liberal to poore professors of the truthe in Christianitye," and yet there is a lack of brotherly love between their minister and his brother. They therefore ask Bacon to ask his

brother to use his influence to secure a reconciliation between Fairhether and his brother. Signed by Nicholas Hairyson, John Spaldynge, R. Wryghte, Richard Gooch, John Hamye, Hamsin Buead. Undated.

Draft of a petition from people living near the towns of Wells and Burnham, in support of a petition which is being made by certain merchants and shipowners of those towns, that a port should be erected at Wells to serve for both places, and customers and other officers appointed so as to obviate the necessity of going more than twenty miles (i.e. to Lynn) for a cocket for every ship. Undated.

Petition to the justices by the inhabitants of Swanton Novers that Henry Pounce be allowed to sell beer. Signed by the chief constable of Holt Hundred and the constables, overseers, and churchwardens of the parish. Undated.

Copy of a return made by a jury to an enquiry as to the amount of wool yearly bought by the strangers of the city of Norwich and how much of it is purveyed to the woolen manufacturers and how the rest is employed. They say that during the last year the Wallons and Dutch of this city used about 8100 todd¹ of fleece and skin wool. Of this about 5700 todd is bought of the fellmongers in Barmesby Street in by the Wallons being wool of the adjoining shires which is "kempt" by the Wallons in Norwich and put out to the spinners by the yard being in the city of Norwich and the yarn employed to make new draperies. There is bought by the Dutchmen of the city of the clothiers in Essex of combed wool "tuskwood" being fleece wool of Northants and Bucks, about 2400 todd and of the Dutch combers within the city being skin wool about 180 todd. The baser part of the wool, about 1300 todd, is sold to the freemen of this city and by them put, part into Essex for Bayes and sayers making and part into the west country for kersies. Of the wool when combed, about 400 todd is sent to Yarmouth and there employed for fine stockings only. They cannot discover that any wool is sold overseas.

- No. 20. Draft of letter to Sir R. Clarke, Kt., Baron of the exchequer, asking him to use his influence to secure a pardon for Katherine Bennett convicted of manslaughter at the last Norfolk assizes but reprieved (no date).

¹ A todd = 28 lbs.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 19

Petition of William Bennett to Sir Robert Clarke on behalf of his wife, Katherine.

Agreement (draft) made before Sir Nathaniel Bacon by Christopher Bedingfold, George Walpole and Pope of Wighton to pay in hand 20s. to Simon Mariner and 4s. monthly on the bond of Kirby's wife, 1608.

Agreement before Sir Nathaniel Bacon between the inhabitants of Wighton and John Curbie of Denver near Downham market. Curbie agrees to pay 6*d.* a week for the maintenance of his wife, a lunatic, who is detained in the hospital at Walsingham. If he falls into arrears for more than a month he is to become bound with one or two sufficient sureties in such a sum as Bacon shall think reasonable for the payment of the money.

Letter from Gerald Smith and Simon Mettersen to Mr. Martin Mann of Sarskey, March 1604. States that the bearer of the letter had a son apprenticed to Thomas Wildblond of Wells who was scalded whilst trying oil. His master "being more greedy of his worke than forward to gitt him remydyed" set him to work. The boy then came to the constable with his master's consent to ask the constable to go with him and bear witness that his master would give him his indentures and so be rid of him. The writers went with the constable and Wildblond told them that if they wanted the boy better tended they could do it themselves.

Valuation of lands in Althorpe, 27 January 1603.

William Day	100 acres	£24
Roger Grene	25 acres	£4
George Greve	a tenement and 25 acres	£5
George Blackborne	a tenement and 9 acres	£2/10/-
William Ellys	a tenement and 2 acres	£1
Edmund Ellys	3 acres	10/-

Draft of letter from Bacon to Sir Henry Sydney informing him that Thomas Bullock, a constable, had raised the peace against him in account of threats and evil words against him on account of some duty of his office. Bacon has agreed to pacify the dispute and wishes Sydney to be at his house next afternoon, 16 April 1605.

Note of complaint by Robert Pereson of Tatterset that John Pound, bailiff of Gallow Hundred, took, at his suit, a distress of Thomas Dobson to appear at the Hundred Court and subsequently

handed back the distress secretly, whereby Pereson lost his court because Dobson has fled and left nothing.

Endorsed. Pound to appear at assizes when called, 26 June 1605.

Deposition of Alice Large taken before Bacon 16 September 1605. She alleged that Richard Alburgh, a lime burner, assaulted her in Hurle Lane between Cley and Herringset.

No. 21. Copy of a letter from the Privy Council to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Norfolk, 9 July 1619.

Owing to the failure of the recently dissolved Parliament to provide revenue the Lords Spiritual and many of the clergy, the Lords of the Privy Council and many other lords and gentlemen have given plate or money to the king of their own free will. The Council understands that the gentry and some of the cities and boroughs of Norfolk wish to follow their example and desires the sheriff and justices to make arrangements for the collection and the deposit of plate and money in the king's jewel house in Whitehall. The money received will only be employed for the payment of the king's debts, for Ireland, the Navy and the cautionary towns in the Low Countries.

No. 22. Notes of hearing of a suit between Thomas Watson and Thomas Spencer and Agnes his wife concerning a title to land, before Nathaniel Bacon, 16 February 1603.

Order of court of assize held at Norwich 11 July, 6 Jas. I, before Sir Edward Coke, referring a suit between Robert Hawgner and David Reote to be heard and determined by Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

Agreement concerning the purchase of lands made between Richard Stone of Holme iuxta Mare and Robert Smyth of Brinkaster before Nathaniel Bacon and others, 29 March 1579.

File of depositions relating to the case of Holland *v.* Armiger taken before Nathaniel Bacon upon letters from the Lord Keeper, December 1599. Holland was parson of North Crake and the dispute was about tithes. It is stated that in harvest 1593 Armiger hired two Kentishmen to get in his harvest who were armed with iron-shod poles. He kept a fierce mastiff which he set on to those who demanded tithes; he ploughed up the orchard and close

adjoining the parsonage house and forbade John Earle to pay any rent to Holland for part of the ground lying within the parsonage close. He assaulted William Branden in harvest 1594 when he went to collect tithes, and also unloaded his cart when he had collected tithes elsewhere. In harvest 1593 the constable had a warrant to apprehend the Kentishmen, but they resisted and he could not execute his warrant. The following persons were examined, Samuel Sanders clerk, Thomas Frankling of North Crake, John Rust of North Crake, John Erle of North Crake and William Brandon of North Crake.

Agreement made before Nathaniel Bacon between Bridget Spelman widow, William Plumsted and Temperance Gurlye by which Plumsted agrees to pay Temperance £19 and Bridget £11 in return for the surrender of a bond, 9 August 1611.

Agreement made before Nathaniel Bacon between John Wither and William Kendall for the payment of certain debts, 9 December 1611.

Agreement made before Nathaniel Bacon between Richard Okleby and his apprentice Thomas Boulton. Boulton agrees to serve Okleby until Michaelmas next. Okleby promises to pay Boulton 10s according to the covenant in the indentures of apprenticeship between them, and to provide him with one suit for work days and one for holy days, and tools for his craft, i.e., a hammer, a square, a plumb rule and a trowel.

Order by the Master of the Rolls that Richard Farrington and Richard Smith shall pay over to Nathaniel Bacon and others the sum of £120 bequeathed by Gregory Smith, merchant tailor of London, to purchase land and apply the yearly income for the benefit of the poor of Wigton and Hinderingham, the trustee named in the bequest being dead and Farrington and Smith the executors of the deceased, 25 November, 5 Jas. I. (1607)

Note concerning the conditions under which Samuel Erle sold to John Stovell and other inhabitants of Langham two tenements and a yard in Langham, to be used for a poor house, for £15, 2 January 1611.

Bundle of depositions in charge of witchcraft against Agnes wife of Richard Amies¹ of Saxthorp, March 1620. The depositions state that about two weeks earlier Elizabeth Mower, servant to John Crane of Saxthorp, went to Amies's house to borrow fire.

¹ The spelling of the name varies

After she had gone with the fire a spindle and whorl were missed and Dame Amies came to Cranes house and accused Elizabeth Mower of stealing them. She denied it and Amies withdrew threatening her she should repent it. Three weeks later Mower was vexed and troubled in mind and became lame of her body, both hand and foot, so that she could not work and had to be carried. One of the daughters of Amies told her that she should be worse, and she was. Being in pain Elizabeth went to Amis's house intending to scratch her but Amis entreated her kindly and said she should be better, but she had not been. Whilst Mower was ill Amis met Crane's wife and told her that her maid (i.e. Mower) had spoken ill of her and said she was a witch; whereupon Amis took bread and vowed she was no witch. The following night Crane was troubled in mind and could not sleep, and again the following night. Dame Amis had been suspected of witchcraft seven years before by Mr. Rainor of Saxthorpe and had also consorted with one Hilton, a fortune teller, who was said to have learned his art from one Galt, thought to be a sorcerer. During Mower's illness a cow and pig belonging to Crane were suddenly taken lame, as he thinks, by witchcraft.

Dame Amys denied using any threats but admitted that eighteen or nineteen years ago she had a child that had been sick six years and there came a raung (?) upon the child overnight and the next morning she saw it and killed it and burnt it and afterwards the child recovered.

Maintenance order made by Nathaniel Bacon for 1s. per week against Stephen Taylor of Corpustey at the suit of Alice Robin. Taylor to enter into bond of £10 to the churchwardens and overseers, 11 May 1615.

Award made by Nathaniel Bacon as arbitrator in a dispute between John Bolling of Saxlingham and John Norton of Little Barningham, concerning the conditions under which Norton was to rent his house of Bolling, 8 February 1618.

Agreement made before Nathaniel Bacon that Richard Okleby and his two apprentices shall receive 3s. 6d. per day and shall be allowed 1s. per day for one labourer until the bridge at Wyveton is finished. The money to be paid to Okleby and he to pay the others.

Bond of 40s. by William Kymege of Burnham Thorpe to Nathaniel Bacon for the payment of 21s. 8d. on or before 2 February 1590, 9 March, 31 Eliz.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 23

Bond of 40s. by William Kymye of Burnham Thorpe to Nathaniel Bacon to keep and maintain Alice Porte daughter of Thomas Porte, late of Merston, deceased, for 5 years and to pay 10s. to Bacon within one month after the end of the said 5 years, 2 March, 31 Eliz.

Inventory of goods of Widow Porte the younger. 1 Flanders cupboard, 1 Spanish cupboard cloth, 2 cushions, 1 feather bed with all that belongeth thereto, 2 "bedsteads mort" and 8 pairs of sheets, 2 gowns and 3 kirtles, 3 waistcoats, and 8 yards of woollen cloth.

2 brass pots, 1 great brass kettle, 1 dozen and 2 of pewter candle sticks, 2 chests, 1 table, and stools. Wheat, barley and malt. The sum of £4 8s. of money.

Accounts concerning Porte, deceased.

Begins with an inventory of goods, household furniture and stock sold to various persons to a total of £5 3s. 8d. The outgoings are as follows.

To John Kay for a pair of shoes and making garments for one of Porte's children with 1s. for a smock for her	3s. 1d.
Allowed him for keeping her until she went to service to Kurzon the shepherd, 6s. 8d. and 1 bush. of rye	8s. 2d.
Paid to sundry creditors	£2. 0s. 0d.
To Roger Kurzon for one of Porte's children that was put to him to be kept, who long after died of the sickness. 1 combe each of barley, rye and malt and 3s. 4d. in cash to buy linen for her	19s. 4d.
Paid to Cecily Porte when she was married	5s. 0d.
To her at another time	5s. 0d.
To her sister then	2s. 0d.
Remain in hand of Thomas Kinge	21s. 3d.

Agreement made before Nathaniel Bacon between John Lambird and Margaret Corye of Bynham concerning the house rented by her, 15 November 1590.

Agreements between Henry Conyham and William Seele and Henry Conyham and Edmund Newby concerning the payment of certain money due to Conyham, 25 August 1600.

Letter from John Copuldyke of Stody to Nathaniel Bacon complaining that he had issued a warrant for the peace against him, and offering to discuss the matter with him, 10 September 1605.

No. 23. Depositions taken before Sir Christopher Heydon, Sir Myles Corbett, Nathaniel Bacon, Thomas Knyvett, Edmund Mundeford, Richard Stubb, William Welbie, Mathew Gamble and William Guiben by an Exchequer commission concerning Terrington and Marshland seabanks, January 1601.

The articles of inquiry and some correspondence concerning this commission have been printed in the Stiffkey Papers.¹ The evidence of the witnesses shows that Terrington had an area of 4,460 acres (reckoned by the long hundred of 120), it comprised two manors one belonging to the queen and the other to Lord Howard, but the queen was the greater landowner. There is some disagreement as to whether Walpole would be flooded if Terrington bank were broken down. The Terrington witnesses say that it would, the Marshland witnesses that it would not.

Witnesses agree that the damage done by the sea in Terrington during the past twelve years has been considerable, so that many substantial landowners have been impoverished or left the village and that the number of poor in Terrington St. Clement has considerably increased.

There is a general feeling that a stone wall is the only safe way of preventing further floods. The church of Terrington is considerably decayed and the cost of repair is estimated at several hundred pounds, which the parishioners are unable to pay. Both Terrington and Marshland witnesses agree that the existing custom of the Marsh is that each township is responsible for the repair of its own seabanks without any powers to call for a rate in aid. The names of the witnesses are: John Richers, William Wiseman, John Houldby, Michael Boston, Henry Whick, Edmund Celt, John Waters, Nicholas Rouslyn, John Kym, Robert Wardell, all of Terrington; Ambrose Crosley, Robert Daymer, Adam Blomefield, Matthew Izatt, William Howlett, and John Wright, all of Walpole; Richard Bunting, Audley Ladd alias Baker and Matthew Clarke of Leverington; Richard Bigg of Walsoken, Gregory Carter of Walton, Francis Archer of Emmeth, William Lawson of Grimston, Thomas Whick of West Walton, John Shrimpkin of Tyland and John Hutchinson of Tylney.

¹ S.P., pp. 107-23.

AS COMMISSIONER FOR MUSTERS

No. 24. Bundle of documents relating to musters.

An agreement made by the deputy lieutenants at the Kings Head, Norwich, 23 September 1605, for levying a rate for horse and foot. Every man worth £200 in land or £2,000 in goods to find a lance besides foot armour, i.e. a corslet and a musket, to be mustered therewith before the captain where he is resident. Every man worth 100 marks in land or 1,000 marks in goods to find a horse and light foot armour as above. Every man worth £40 per annum in land or £500 in goods to find a petronel and foot armour. Every man worth £15 per annum in land or £200 in goods to find a musket or corslet at the discretion of the captain. Every man worth £10 per annum in land or 200 marks in goods to find a caliver. Whatever any man is charged and has yielded to be not altered but rules to apply to all new assessments. Towns armour to stand as before.

Notes for a conference with Lord Northampton, 3 December 1605. To ask directions about raising a number of horses in Norfolk. When the statute was made 200 marks per annum amounted to more land than 300 marks at present. Is a man of £2,000 or £3,000 to be charged 2 or 3 horsemen? What is to be done about arms prescribed by the statutes which are out of date? What rule is to be taken to lay upon a hundred arms or horses—whether to use the rule of the subsidy or some other? How are deputy lieutenants to find the value of estates?

Some rule must be drawn up to deal with those charged with horse or foot who default or officers who refuse to accept posts. Is a beacon watch to be kept at the county's expense? How is coat and conduct money to be paid? Are inhabitants of cities and towns to be charged with horses if they have lands in the country? Are lawyers and attorneys to be assessed on their practices? Should the clergy be charged with arms and mustered by the Lord Lieutenant or Bishop? If they are to be charged separately their costs will be greater both in expenses of officers and travelling to musters. In view of the late treason to consider what steps should be taken about the store of powder in every hundred.

Roll of arms in North Greenhoe hundred, 19 January 1619. The names of the persons charged with providing arms are given, also the names of their substitutes. Occasionally there is a note

26 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

per se, indicating that service is done in person. A corslet and a musket or caliver is always charged against the village.

	Corslets.	Muskets	Calivers.
Holkham	3	3	2
Stifkey	3	1	4
Wigston	4	5	1
Fieldalling	5	2	4
Barney	1	4	1
Thusford	2	0	3
Hynderingham	5	8	2
Binham	6	7	0
Warham	5	3	1
Snoring	2	1	1
Wells	4	9	3
Egmet	1	0	0
Walsingham Magna	3	3	2
Walsingham Parva	7	6	2
Houghton	1	1	2
Totals for the hundred	51	54	27

The chief constables return the ammunition of the hundred as three and a half hundred of powder, three hundred of match, 13 stone 9 lb. of bullet. Seven carts, three at Holkingham and two at Hynderingham and Weighton respectively. The other munitions, pickaxes, beetles, etc., were detained by Henry Booth, formerly chief constable, as security for £1 13s. 4d. which he said was due to him from the hundred.

Similar account for Brothercross Hundred, 21 October 1608.

	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.
South Cryke	4	5	1
North Cryke	4	1	1
Burnham Thorpe	3	3	1
Burnham Sutton	2	0	1 decayed
Burnham Westgate	2 (1 decayed)	3	0
Burnham	2	2	4
Burnham Norton	1	1	0
Waterden	0	1	0
Burnham Deepdale	0	1	0
Totals	17	17	7

Clergy, 2 pikes (Burnham Thorpe and South Cryke), 2 muskets (North Cryke and Burnham Westgate).

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 27

Powder	200 lbs.	Pickaxes	12
Match	200 lbs.	" Shoddshovles "	12
Bullets	100 lbs.	Scopetts	12

Carts—William Carman of Burnham Thorpe to find one at an hour's notice.

Pioneers—Six are appointed.

List of arms and armour charged upon the clergy of Norfolk, October 1608.

The Archdeacons of Norwich and Norfolk and the Rectors of Brancaster, Saham Tony and Terrington provide each a light horse furnished. The clergy of the county provide 27 muskets, 75 calivers, 27 corslets and 27 petronels. The Dean and Chapter of Norwich provide 2 corslets and 2 calivers and six prebendaries a corslet each.

Muster roll of light horses and petronels, 1608.

	Light horses.	Petronels.
Eynesford	15	6
South Erpingham	11	4
North Erpingham	9	8
North Grinbo	9	5
Holte	5	3

The document is endorsed in a different hand :

The number of light horses 52 whereof 9 are now charged and 21 made default.

The number of petronels 26 whereof two are now charged and 16 made default.

There are marks against the names of those who appeared and a note asking for some help in enforcing appearance.

Draft of a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk, October 1609. States that the deputy lieutenants have agreed to hold a muster before Hallowmas but there was a disagreement as to the payment of the muster master Curzon. It had been suggested he should have £100 per annum with prospects of an increase. Captain Worlock who was muster master about 1588 had been promised more, but there had been great difficulty in raising the amount. After Worlock's time there were two muster masters, gentlemen of the county, who had about £80 apiece, also in Worlock's time there was more mustering. Warrants had already been granted to levy £290 and the writer fears there will be trouble and would like the lord lieutenant to suggest a definite figure.

28 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

List of trained footmen in Mersoll Hoult Hundred. Endorsed
Mr. Asteleyr's second certificate for mustering.

	Muskets.	Calivers	Corslets.
Gunthorpe	5 (2)		2 (2)
Wistow	1	1	3 (1)
Langham	3	1	3
Brinton	1		1
Glamford	1	1	1
Bayfillde	1		
Thornege	1	3	1
Saxlingham	1	1	1
Burston	4 (2)		5
Morston	2	1	1 (1)
Waburne	4		2
Edgefield	1 (1)	1	3
Bodham	1		
Stody	3	2	
Hemsted	1 (1)	1	2 (2)
Letherinset	1	1	1
Cley	3 (1)	1	6 (1)
Mellton	1	2	1
Hanworth	1	1	3 (1)
Bathley	2 (2)	3 (2)	2
Hoult	2	1	3
Swanton	1	1	1
Sherington	1	1	1
Blakney	2 (1)	1	1
Burningham		4	
Sallthowse		1	
Kellinge		1	1
Burro			1
Totals	44	32	51

The following deficiencies or defects are noted : a musket rest missing ; an acoorde wanting ; some swoorde headpieces, stocks, flarkes, daggers and sword hilts defective.

Note.—The figures in parentheses denote absences.

Muster list for Eynesford Hundred, October 1608.

	Men Mustered.		Men Mustered.
Bordeswell	8	Woodnorton	4
Foxley	3	Hilderstow	11
Buitre cum Twyford	5	Follsham	11
Ceiste	5	Witchingham Magna	8
Ceistwick	7	Repham	8

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 29

	Men Mustered.		Men Mustered.
Whictwell	9	Weston	10
Hackford	5	Morton	4
Stull	6	Lynge	7
Brandeston	1	Depinge	2
Sherringham	4	Bilaugh	4
Wooddawlinge	10	Sperham	2
Heuerland	3	Muskets showed	55
Bramington	3	Defaulters	5
Ringland	5	Corslets showed	57
Alderford	2	Calivers showed	36

The clergy are very unwilling to be layde for which very fewe come and stand upon their former courses.

Note of ammunition in Holt Hundred, 1608.

Charged in June 1601

Powder	3 cwt. 50 lbs.
Match	4 cwt. 80 lb.
Lead	2 cwt. 16. lb.
Pioneers	12 appointed, the moste of them are dead and gone
Pickaxes	30
Shovels shode	30
Bare shovels	30
Baskets	30 decayed
Axes	6
Beetles	4
Carts	2

Present stores

Powder	1 cwt. 1 qr. whereof half decayed	} In my custody
Match	2 cwt.	
Lead	1 cwt. 8 lb.	

All the rest my brother John King is to answer for, both powder, match and lead.

Pioneers' tools remain in the constable's hands in these towns. Where the carts were appointed I cannot as yet certify you. Part of the powder if not all remains in Mr. Barricke's hands at Norwich and the rest he have but I think it is decayed. (Signed by) William King.

Letter to Nathaniel Bacon from King's Lynn informing him of trained bands and armour. The mayor has taken a view and levied an assessment to make good defaults. There are twenty foot, hitherto charged equipped with ten muskets and ten corslets two sakers and two minnions of cast iron and two brass fauconettes with suitable shot and six barrels of powder. Also they have 30

30 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

muskets, 20 corslets and 10 halbeths which are charged on the inhabitants. They trust the commissioners will accept this proportion as the town contains many seamen and poor artificers.

(Signed by) Thomas Sondy'll mayor,
and four others.

No. 25. Letter from the Council to the commissioners for musters,
12 September 1614.

On account of the attack of Marquis Spinola on Cleueland and the ports adjacent and the peril to the Protestant religion, as well as the fact that a fleet is at sea proposing to attack the Low Countries, a general muster of all forces in the county is to be taken. The bands are to be made up to full strength both horse and foot and all weapons to be examined and defects made good. No coat and conduct money is to be charged on the county till further notice. The general muster is to include the clergy. All stocks of powder, match and bullets to be inspected and made up, and beacons to be prepared.

Muster certificate for Northgreenhow Hundred taken by Christopher Calthorp, Esq., captain, and Mr. Havers, muster master, 9 October 1615.

	Corslets.	Muskets.	Calivers.
Barney	1	3	1
Fieldalling	3	4	1
Warham	6	1	1
Weighton	3	4	1
Snoring Magna	4	1	1
Wells	4	8	1
Egmer	1	0	0
Walsingham Magna	3	2	1
Walsingham Parva	6	7	1
Houghton	1	1	2
Holkham	2	3	1
Stiffkey	3	2	2
Thursford	5		
Hynderingeham	5	7	3
Bynham	5	4	

There is in the hands of Robert Osburne of Norwich two hundreds and a half of corn powder and three hundred match, two hundred pounds of bullets, scoupitts, thirty shovels, thirty mattocks, thirty remaining in the hands of Henry Boulton of Wells.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 31

Accounts of Giles Norton, chief constable of the hundred of Brother Cross, for moneys raised and expended for various military and naval purposes from October 1596 to March 1602. The account begins with a rate levied for the setting forth of two ships of war to Cadiz from the towns of Lynn and Yarmouth. The hundred collected £11. Other items include :

Her majesty's diet (1597)	£17.11.8
Setting forth 8 soldiers out of the hundred 1597	£24. 8.0
her majesty's diet 1598	£16. 0.0
To the house of correction 1598	£3.13.4
Light horse for Ireland 1598	£3. 0.0
4 soldiers for Ireland 1598	£14.14.4
3 soldiers for Ireland 1599	£13. 0.0
Her majesty's diet 1599	£10.10.0
Powder and match 1599	£14.14.0
1 soldier for Ireland 1599	£4.11.2
Her majesty's diet 1600	£14. 0.0
1 soldier for Ireland 1600	£5. 0.0
For trowse bridges 1600	£2. 0.0
1 soldier to Ireland 1600	£5. 0.0
Her majesty's diet 1601	£15. 5.0
The muster master for a year 1600	£5. 2.0

Note of procedure for muster agreed upon by the deputy lieutenants at Norwich, 28 July 1615. Deals with such matters as the replacement of captains and notification of days of musters.

Letter from council to the lord lieutenant instructing him to hold a view of arms, make up deficiencies, see that the trained bands are exercised in their weapons, that the horse, in particular, are recruited up to standard and that the county store of match and powder is made up. A certificate that this has been done is to be returned before October. July 1616.

Notes for meeting about musters, 22 October 1616. Contains the following headings :

- To call for captains' certificates
- To ensure repair of defective arms
- To discuss whether justices of the peace whose estates are not large enough to be charged with a lance shall be grouped to provide lances.
- To discuss how the clergy shall be mustered
- To discuss the problem of inhabitants of Norwich who refuse to find horses for their lands in the county.

32 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Draft of warrant for calling a muster—Undated.

Certificate to the lord lieutenant informing him that the commissioners for musters have received and are sending the certificates of musters from the captains. Sir Thomas Hobart, Mr. Clement Hoo and Sir Harry L'estrage, captains of foot for Smithling and Blofield and Brothercross hundreds, and Sir L. Drury, captain of horse in South Hinhoe, and other adjacent hundreds had failed to return certificates. Also many clergy had defaulted, denying the authority of the muster master.

Letter from the commissioners for musters to the lord lieutenant informing him that on receipt of his letters of 10 July they sent out instructions to all captains to hold musters and return a certificate of all arms, including those of the clergy, and of powder and match, within their hundreds before 20 October. Several captains have failed to return certificates.

Certificate of foot and horse with Captains, 21 January 1617. Endorsed—Form of general muster roll. The county is divided into eight companies, both of horse and foot, Hundreds being grouped to provide these. Of 32 hundreds returns are only made by fourteen. These are as follows: (See opposite page).

A list of those who have sent in certificates is appended. 22 October 1616.

A list of persons assessed to find lances in the various hundreds of Norfolk. Gilcross provides four, North Greenhow three, the remainder of the sixteen mentioned one or two each. The total is 29. 11 July 1616.

List of dates and places at which musters are to be held. The dates run consecutively from 10 September to 11 October with a break from 26 September to 5 October. There are notes showing which commissioner for musters was to attend at which place. Musters were to be held at Norwich, Swaffham, and Falkenham 1616.

Draft of warrant for calling a muster of horse.

Letter from Lord Arundel, lord lieutenant, to the deputy lieutenants, evidently sent with copies of the Council's letter, instructing them to hold musters and particularly to take steps to repair deficiencies especially in horse, 30 June 1616.

List of captains of foot and horse for the county of Norfolk 1616.

Letter from Council to lord lieutenant instructing him to hold a general muster and view of munitions. Considerable laxity has

Captains of foot.	Hundred.	Men	Pikes	Mus- kets	Cal- coes	Pow- der	Match	Bullets.	Pion- eers	Cats.
Francis Mayor. . .	W. Flegge		35	37	17	234	284	232	7	1
James Scamler . .	Happing		50	54	22	400	500	200 lb		
Henry Heldeth . .	Tunthead	170	60	97	13				14	4
Sir Thos. Hobart . .	Blofield		44	33	19	230	233	115 lb	27	
Thos. Corbett . . .	Taverham		33	33		200 l.	105	205		
Sir R. Belt . . .	S. Greenhoe		79	75		500	70	250 lb	11	
Sir W. Gray . . .	Waulon & Inning- ham		40	47	13	400	500	200	10	2
Francis Gaudy . .	Shopham & Gil- cross		80	80	40					
W. Yelverham . .	Launditch	150	60	60	30					
John Richards . .	S. Erpingham		87	89	21					
Oliver Colthorp . .	N. Greenhoe		54	50	19	260	300	200		
Thos. Astly . . .	Holt		50	45	25					
Richard Howell . .	Freebridge Lynn		61	22	2					
Sir Arthur Heington .	Christ Church		7	18	9					

Lances for the whole country, 111

There are eight groups of hundreds, each having a captain of horse

34 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

been shown in the past year which must be stopped, 26 June 1615. On the dorse is a copy of the instructions sent by Arundel to the deputy lieutenants, sending them deputations and instructing them to hold musters and send certificates as ordered by the Council and to appoint new captains and officers where necessary. He has appointed Edward Havers as muster master, to whom notice must be given of the time and place of musters.

Letter from Arundel to the deputy lieutenants thanking them for their certificate of musters given in October, but complaining about numerous captains who had defaulted. The deputy lieutenants are to call all defaulters before them, obtain certificates of musters from them and return them before 8 February. 21 December 1616.

Notes for a meeting of deputy lieutenants to be held at Norwich, 31 October 1615. The following matters are to be discussed:

- To collect certificates from all captains of horse and foot
- To examine and take steps to remedy all defects noted in the certificates
- To decide on the assessments for horse and foot
- To hear and decide on all complaints
- To decide whether Ersham hundred shall contribute to repair a beacon.

List of captains of horse and foot presented at the meeting mentioned in the above, with notes of defaulters.

Draft of letter from Bacon to Mr. Dix informing him of the failure of the deputy lieutenants to secure an adequate number of muster certificates and suggesting that as the law for levying arms is repealed and a new one will presumably be passed, instead of an estate of 100 marks being charged with a light horse as formerly, the assessment should now be 200 marks (Undated, but evidently refers to the letter of December 1616 above). Folded in with this is a draft of a letter from the deputy lieutenants to the lord lieutenant informing him that they had held a meeting to take certificates of musters, but, owing to the large number of defaulters, they had been compelled to adjourn to a later day, November 1615.

Letter to Nathaniel Bacon from Robert Kemp saying that he sends muster roll for his hundred taken at Roughton and thanking him for the help of his warrant for those who refused to attend. Undated.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 35

AS CLERK OF METHWOLD AND DEPUTY STEWARD OF THE DUCHY
OF LANCASTER

No. 26. A bill of costs incurred in dealing with a fish (probably a whale) cast up on the Queen's sands within the liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster, by Nath. Bacon, November and December 1588.

There are two almost identical documents, one presumably the steward's notes of expenses, the other the final statement.

The first item is—"To five men of Wells for making the fische fast," 20*d*. Then follow payments to 27 men, for various unspecified work in connection with the fish both by day and by night, usually at a shilling a day, but Robert Shyne had 2*s*. a day and 1*s*. a night. Six days seems to be the longest period worked. The total amount under this head is £5 4*s*. 2*d*. The next items are

For hire of a cart for 2 days	6/8
for 2 meals and 6 pots of bere for Stockdale and his mate	1/10
Bar. Lyster of Holkham for hire of a boat 5 times	1/6
4 men at 1/- each	4/-
Thomas Camthorpe for 4 barrels	6/-
2 killers	1/-
a chalder of coals	11/-
500 billets	11 <i>d</i> .
for 11 barrels of Fraryes	14/8
for 2 barrels of William Taylour	2/8
Edmund Gicke for 3 times	3/-
the joiner for his days work	1/-
carriage of things from the Melles ¹ and bringing down a lanthorn and other things	10 <i>d</i> .
Baker's passage in a cock boat from the steath to the meeles	4 <i>d</i> .
Labour payments, probably for boatmen, 11 men for various periods up to 6 days and 4 nights at 1/- a time	
Geo. Cougham for his cart twice	6/8
3 more labour payments up to 7 days and 5 nights	25/-
Hire of a new man to help with the leighter in a great tempest of weather	1/-
Meals to labourers at the first breaking up of the fish	3/6
and at other times	5/4
Further meals	2/4

¹ Dr. Hubert Hall informs me that part of the foreshore at Stiffkey is still locally known as the "meeles." He suggests, however, that the whale may have been stranded some distance from Stiffkey village.

36 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

11 labourers up to 7 days and 7 nights	£4/10/-
Cougham for 2 days carting	6/8
a poore man wading through the water when his carte stuck fast	2d.
2 men helping up barrels of oil at the shore	6d.
3 labourers	19/-
Freeman and Adamson helping up with the three boats when the geere was carried up	2/-
Shynes boy scouring the kettles that were borrowed to boil the fish	1/-
James Tyd and others for washing sailes	2/-
John Cougham for a chalder of coals	12/-
to him for 900 billets	16/2
to him for 10 barrels	15/-
to him for a [1]	6d.
to him for a stringe for the borthes	8d.
to him for a scoup	6d.
to him for 2 oars broken	2/8
to him for 3 boardes cut and occupied about the tent	1/6
to him for hire of leighter for 6 tides	3/6
to his 3 men fetching up the leighter	1/6
Howsage for hire of lighter 7 tides	3/6
James Myttersen 35 ash barrels	52/6
„ a great ronlett	1/4
„ a soe ²	1/6
„ a gett	6d.
„ a tonner	10d.
„ 5 small vessels	3/4
„ 2 small vessels	1/-
„ 500 billets	9/-
„ for 2 days at the meeles mending barrels	1/-
Goldsmith—800 billets	14/5
Bolt— $\frac{1}{2}$ chalder of coals	6/-
Nicholas Myttersen—2 soes	3/-
„ 4 oak barrels	8/-
„ 2 ash barrels	3/-
„ an olde killar	4d.
William Salte for his lighter 4 tides	2/-
Baker and Palmer for their attendance about the oil	£5
Palmer for charge of diet	[8]
Timber to make barrowes	1/-
Victuals for Stockdale and others at first breaking up of fish	3/6
Making 2 iron ladles and 2 fleshhooks	3/3

¹ Word illegible.

² Possibly a bucket (cf Fr. *seau*).

³ Figure illegible.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 37

Paper	4d.
Candles	1/6
Straw	6d.
Hire of boat to carry victuals	1/-
2 labourers removing oil and placing it better	1/-
Money paid to Wm. Cougham for one days work	1/-
Warders boy going out at night to Holkham to stay Mason's cart	4d.
New string to sailes about the tent	8d.
4 men removing all the oil in the house	1/-
Cork to make bungs	6d.
A newe key	4d.
Seven spars cut to hang kettles on and carry soes	2/-
His boy dressing Stockdales and Roses diet	
Wood for new trying of oil	1/4
For Stockdale, Rose and other diet	13/6
John Grogaine for his cable and great copper kettle	5/-
Shyne and his man in trying the corrupcion from the first oil that was carried	6/-
Nicholas Myttersen for 8 small vessels in the last trying of the oil	4/-
James Myttersen for 90 barrel hoopess and more for a small barrel	1/6
do for a fyrkyn	8d.
His man 2 daies	
Walter Palmer watching of oil, 2 days and 2 nights at last trying	4/-

An order for the labourers. Stockdale and his mate, cutters, Hasting and Maddock, fire tenders, Shyne and his man, skynners, Richard Lyster and Harrison carriers of fish.

Routing and Phillipson (and Lywelyn Phillipson discharged) choppers.

Old Lyster carrier away of the garbage.

Watchmen at night.

Lists of five or six for Thursday to Monday.

No. 27. Bundle of miscellaneous documents.

Bill of Mr. Alexander for legal costs on behalf of Newby in a suit against Sabbe, 39 Eliz.-41 Eliz. The account is made up by terms and amounts to £11 5s. 10d.

Letter from Jerome Alexander sent with the above to Bacon desiring that the hearing of a complaint made against him by Sabbe (presumably for overcharging in his bill of costs) and which

had apparently been referred to Bacon by the Lord Chief Justice, should be respited till the end of term, 20 January 1601.

Note of fens in the township of Methwell.

The Severall—1,200 acres farmed by Sir Edmund Mandford. It is fed with his own cattle and cattle joysted by him and with his own sheep, called the kings flock.

The Broad fen—200 acres, fed by the tenants without any joysted cattle.

Southmore—400 acres, fed by the tenants of Methwold and part of the inhabitants of Autherey in intercommonage and with 1,700 sheep, 300 of the Earl of Arundel, 500 of Sir Edmund Mandford, 500 of the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, 400 of Richard Bathercrosse.

Pottefud More—100 acres, common pasture of tenants. The greater part has been fed by the manor flock. In former times it is alleged the manor flock only fed up to a place called Willfud but now they feed all over all to the damage of the tenants.

Sir Edmund Mandford has failed to keep the dykes clear, which belong to the Several and are known as the East dyke and the South dyke.

Fishing and fowling rights are valueless.—No date.

Accounts of Roger Barham bailiff for the manor of Methwold for two years ending Lady Day, 1606.

Account of Francis Rayman, bailiff for the manor of Methwold for the half-year ending Michaelmas 1606.

Notes of matters to be discussed with Robert Tudenham and Robert Starling the younger after the death of R. Starling, the bailiff of Methwold, 1614. Various points as to outstanding rents are noted.

Letter from John Goodwyn to Martin Mow. He will wait upon Bacon for further instructions, 23 December 1618.

Letter from Edmund Bullock of Lincoln's Inn to Bacon concerning various matters of legal business, 27 April 1619.

Deed by which Richard Spratt of Barney grants to Nathaniel Bacon, in consideration of £40, the offices of feodary, coroner, eschaetor and clerk of the market of the Duchy of Lancaster in the king's manor of Methwold and the towns and parishes of Methwold and Holgate, 10 January 1604.

Rental of Methwold for the year ending Michaelmas 1605.

Account of Francis Raymond bailiff for the manor of Methwold for the year ending Michaelmas 1609.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 39

Draft of a bailiff's account for Methwold for the year ending Michaelmas 1607. This appears to be the clerk's draft of the heads of the account prepared before the account was passed.

Note of expenses of Francis Raymond bailiff of Methwold for the year ending Michaelmas 1607.

Bill of charges from John Goodwyn for expenses in journeys to Methwold, probably to hold courts, October 1619.

No. 28. Miscellaneous papers relating to Mr. Hobart of Sault.

Copy of part of declared account of Sir Henry Hobart, Bart., receiver of the king for the year ending Michaelmas, 17 Jas. I. Contains the item :

For certain lands in the manor of Wells at £2.12.0 per annum for 30 years from 31 Eliz. £67.16.3

with the note "*Distringantur in Welles quia pertinent manerio de Methwold pro Rege.*"

A list of the lands and rents of Mr. Hobart.

Notes of Bacon's clerk concerning titles to and payments of rent in Holgate.

PAPERS RELATING TO NATHANIEL BACON IN HIS PRIVATE CAPACITY

No. 29. Fragmentary Bailiffs accounts of the manors of Langham, Michaelmas, 35 Henry VIII ; Easter, 36 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 37 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 38 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 2 Edward VI. Dalyng, Michaelmas, 35 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 37 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 2 Edward VI. Saxlingham, Michaelmas, 35 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 37 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 2 Edward VI. Blakeney, Michaelmas, 35 Henry VIII ; Marston, Easter, 36 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 37 Henry VIII ; Michaelmas, 2 Edward VI. Glamforth and Cley, Michaelmas, 2 Edward VI. Marston and Langham, January, 5 Edward VI.

The first account follows :

Langham. The half yeer Rentes and fermes received at the Court there holden the 8th day of October 35 Hen. VIII.

	s.	d.
Robert Cawtyng for ferm of Skarlet	4	6
of him for ferm	3	4
of him for rent	7	7½

40 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

	s.	d
John Wyatt for rent	6	
William Wright for rent	9	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Gryxe the elder rent and ferme	17	9
Widow Gryxe rent and ferm	14	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Thomas Taylor rent	4	10
Thomas Loksmyth rent	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
John Warner rent	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Henry Gooldsmythe rent		7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Edmund Wyatt rent and ferme	12	10
Agnes Blyd rent	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Manne rent	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Andrew Tytsal rent	4	7
John Bury rent and ferm	8	5
Richard Cately rent	4	4
William Harryson rent		4 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Loo de rent	2	2
John Gryge the younger rent	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Walker the younger rent and ferm	31	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Nicholas Harryson rent	32	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Walker the elder rent and ferm	36	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Richard B. ¹ rent and ferm	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Henry Curteis rent and ferm	12	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Warner for lete fee	10	0
Master Vyler for hallmote	2	6
Of him for barn and yard		3
of him for rent of Fletchers	3	2
of him for 3 acres sometime Howltynges	2	0

The total rents are not stated, but they remain almost unchanged throughout the period covered by the accounts.

No. 30. Corn account kept by the bailiff of Sir Roger Townshend from 1 January, 1626 to 29 Sept. 1626.²

Wheat remaining out of store at the beginning of the year	24 coomb
Received from Thomas Hoare and Thomas Bamyarde taskmen 10 Feb	21 co.
Received from the taskmen 4 Apl.	20 co. 2 bushels
Total	65 co 2 bush
Ground for the use of the house	42 co.

¹ Word illegible.

² Roger Townshend was Nathaniel Bacon's son-in-law and successor. Although this is not strictly speaking one of Bacon's papers, it has been included for its intrinsic interest.

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 41

Sold to a baker of Lynn	16 co.
Delivered to Master Barker to feed knates ¹	3 bushels
Sold to John Crow	2 bush
Ground for two brews of Marche beere	1 co
of the corne put into rye to make mesling of	2 co
Remain still in the chamber	2 co.
In waste	1 co 1 bush
Receiptes of meslyng or rye	
Of the store that remained in the chamber	39 co
Received from the taskmen roth January	13 co 3 bush.
Received from them of mesling 1 Jan.	8 co 2 bush.
Received from them 8 March of rye	12 co 1 bush.
From them 20 March of meslyng	10 co.
From Thomas Canton from Copsford 9 June of rye	20 co
From Thomas Hoare and William Mussett 23 Sept of mesling	25 co 3 bush.
From Thomas Canton from Copsford of rye 29 Sept	22 co
Total	150 co. 3 bush
Ground for the use of the house	78 co
Sold to the labourers by the bushel	4 co. 2 bush.
Given to Thomas Greene at my master's appointment	2 bush.
Remain still in the chambers	65 co.
In waste	2 co 3½ bush.
Received of ottes as followeth	
Remain in chamber at the end of the year	60 co
From Thomas Clarcke from Barmar 9 Feb.	20 co.
From him 20 Feb	20 co.
From Coxforde from Thomas Canton 27 Feb.	15 co
From Mr Albert Lane of Creak that were bought of him 24 July	19 co.
Total	114 co.
Spent with my master's horses and geldings	80 co.
Spent with stranger's horses	14 co 1 bush.
Spent to fatt swans with	3 co. 3 bush.
Sown	10 co.
Remain still in the chamber	6 co.
Receipts of Barley	
Remaining in the chamber	26 co.
From the taskmen 3 Jan.	17 co. 3 bush
From Robert Cowell and Wm Yarram 16 January	54 co. 2 bush
From them 31 January	24 co. 1 bush
From them 9 February	21 co 3 bush
From them 27 February	22 co 2 bush.

¹ Calves, i e neats.

42 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

From them 7 March	25 co. 1 bush.
From them 23 March	57 co. 1 bush.
From them 8 April	32 co.
From them 19 April	22 co. 1 bush.
From them 29 April	24 co. 2 bush.
From them 5 May	21 co. 1 bush.
Received from Cosford from Thomas Canton 6 May	25 co.
Langham farm barley—of Samuel Easte	21 co.
of George Taylor	12 co. 1½ bush.
of Robert Easte	10 co. 1 bush.
of John Parson	18 co.
of John Sherringham	3 co.
of John Wiggorn	2 bush.
Total	402 co. 1½ bush.
Barley delivered	
Malted	229 co.
Sown in barley stoll	64 co.
Sold	99 co.
Spent with fowls	22 co.
To fatten swyne	5 co.
The doves at Langham	2 co. 2 bush.
Total	402 co. 1½ bush.
Malt made of 229 co. of barley	294 co.
Whereof was brewed	92 co.
Sent to Raynham	42 co.
Sold to Mr. Shovell	42 co.
Sent to London by Mr. Barker of Morston	42 co.
Sold by the combe and by the bushel to the poor	12 co.
For mashes for horses	1 bush.
To Gilberd Grove and Thomas Strowge to either of them one bushel with their bargain for grass mowing	2 bush.
Remain in the chamber at Michaelmas	63 co. 1 bush.

No. 31. A note of the sums due from Sir Henry Sydney to the town of Cromer.

He owes the town £320, due because Queen Elizabeth granted to the town license to transport corn, and Thomas Armiger had the selling thereof, who set down as sold to Sir Henry's father a quantity amounting to £320. The debt was questioned but Sir Francis Walsingham was then living.¹

¹ Walsingham appears to have been instrumental in getting the patent for Sydney to license the exportation of corn. The proceeds of the licenses were to be applied to erect a pier at Cromer (S.P., p. xxxiv, and pp. 124-9).

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 43

No. 32. John Mowforth's account for the manor of Stiffkey, Michaelmas 1573-Michaelmas 1574. Taken 10 November, 1574.

Arrears upon manor and leases of Stiffkey	£10. 13. 10
Half years farm of Stiffkey due Michaelmas 1573	£70. 0. 0
Profits of court of Stiffkey	£3. 8. 4
<i>Present charge</i>	
Rents of assize	£3. 10. 8½
Rent of Stiffkey due Michaelmas 1574	£110. 0. 0
Land, late bought of Hawker being one years profit	£8. 0. 0
Years rent of house by the seaside let to Mr. Woodhouse and John Mowforth	£10. 0. 0
Profits of court	8. 0
Total charge	£230. 0. 10½
<i>Allowances claimed</i>	
Repairs to houses at Stiffkey	£3. 6. 8
A load of "settlnges"	2. 0
Given by my lord to the town of Stiffkey by way of benevolence	£1. 0. 0
Mr. Danby for 20 quarters of wheat	£17. 0. 0
For finding young Banyard's wife and children	£10. 0. 0
Yarmouth haven for Stiffkey lands	2. 0
Sir Christopher Bayden for rent	12. 8
Allowances to Wighton	
Rents of Stiffkey to manor of Wighton	2. 0
Entering suits	6
Warepound rent to Wighton	1. 0
Defending suit and service for Wighton	1. 0
2 men to appear at Sheriff's tourn at Easter	8
At Michaelmas	8
Steward for entering manors in Stiffkey at the general hundred	8
Total allowances	£33. 6. 9
Remains owing	£197. 14. 1½

Of this is to set :

Upon Nathaniel Bacon for money lent him for the lease of Witherston woods	£100. 0. 0
Upon Raynes with Mr. Barnham and Smith his sureties for the farm of Stiffkey behind at Michaelmas 1574	£50. 0. 0
Upon the accountant	£67. 13. 1½
Of this respited for profits of court not able to be gathered	£1. 16. 2
So due upon this reckoning	£45. 17. 11½

The account of John Mowforth for the leases of Salthorpe's and

44 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Baxter's lands Michaelmas 1573 to Michaelmas 1574 and for the sheep's course Midsummer 1573 to Midsummer 1574.
5 November 1574.

In arrears of barley of both leases and the parsonage	
86 combes 1 bush 1 peck at 6/8 per combe	£28.15. 5
20 combes 2 bush. meslin on the parsonage at 9s. per combe	£9. 2. 6
Nathaniel Bacon for lambs delivered	£25.17. 6
Mr. Doyle for certain lands in lease lying in his sheep course	£1.17. 6
One years rent of both leases due from Nathaniel Bacon and John Mowforth Michaelmas 1574	£55.12. 4½
Total charge	£121. 5. 3½
<i>Allowances claimed</i>	
One years rent answered to John Calthrop	£12. 0. 0
Two loads of straw payable to John Calthrop	10. 0
Total allowance	£12.10. 0
Remains due	£108.15. 3½
<i>Whereof is to be set</i>	
Goslin of Yarmouth 86 combes 1 bush. 1 peck of barley being turned into malt and sold	£28.15. 5
Nathaniel Bacon for lambs delivered him at 1/6 per lamb	£25.17. 6
The accountant	£54. 2. 4½
Of this sum is to be respited for 20 combes 2 bush. of maslin in hand	£9. 2. 6
So the accountant is to answer on this reckoning	£44.19.10½
Total on both accounts	£90.17.10

No. 33. Bundle of miscellaneous documents.
Account between Thomas Pepper smith and Nathaniel Bacon,
22 September 1582.

<i>Peper's demand</i>	
Work done in the Lady Quarter toward payment of his iron	£1
Repairing shop tools	9/10
Things done about the house in the Midsummer quarter	5/2
The husbandman's bill for the same quarter	6/5
Horsekeeper's bill for the stable for same quarter	4/5
Total	£2/5/10
<i>Bacon's demand</i>	
Iron which he has given his word to Mr. Hearne to pay him for Peper's debt	£5
Years rent for shop with implements due Michaelmas 1582	£2
Total	£7
Remains due to Bacon	£4/14/2

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 45

Agreement between James Berne and John Blofield made before Nathaniel Bacon 28 Dec. 1580. Certain hides had been delivered by Blofield to Berne. It is agreed that the surplus in money of hides sold, other than twenty-six already sold, shall be accounted for by Berne.

Agreement between Nathaniel Bacon and Symond Chamberlayne, 4 July, 22 Eliz. (1580). That if any of the hogsheads of wine to be delivered by Chamberlayn shall be short in measure he is to be allowed at the rate of £15 a tun.

Agreement between Nicholas Aide and Robert Angwiste 2 April 1578. Robert Angwiste to pay Widdow Mounes £6, being part of the money to be paid by the award, receiving his bond of £100 for performance of the award and a general release from her. Nicholas Aide to be discharged of a bond made by him to Richard Chapman due two months ago and cause the counterpart of the award to be delivered to Angwiste.

Account between Goodman Raylie of Cley and Nath. Bacon 31 October 1577.

Due to Raylie

For fish	£14
More to 6 December 1576 for 100 Island cod	£3/3/4
For 100 fish 9 May	£2/13/4
One bushel of baye salt November 1576	2/4
A stone of hoppes 30 August	3/-
200 cod delivered since Michaelmas	£6/-/-
41 linge	£2/13/4
108 lbs of amyse iron	9/8
201 lbs of iron	18/1
Total	£30/3/1

Allowance to be asked

19 cwts 2 qr 10 lb of roopes at 18/- the cwt	£17/14/2
Remaineth due	£12/8/11

Agreement between Peter Williams, Stephen Williams and Gregory Deye of Walsingham for the use of certain lands in Egmer 12 December 1582.

The land hired between the parties at Egmer to be occupied in severalty and leases to be made as follows:

Peter Williams to occupy Little Broom close and the fence between Great Broom close and Little Broom close to be divided, one-half to be maintained by Peter and the other by Gregory Deye who chooses the part next his White Ollans.

46 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Gregory to occupy Great Broom close and the White Ollans on the south part of the way leading from Walsingham to Egmer.

Stephen to occupy the White Ollans on the north side of the said way and each man to pay his own rent.

Inventory of tools deposited by Thomas Pepper, smith, with Nathaniel Bacon as security for iron which Bacon promised to pay for to Mr. Hearne, merchant, 29 September 1582.

A little broken styffe, a stake of yron to naile at, ten great fyles, 20 small files, a handsaw, an uphand hammer, a cupboard, a pair of andirons, a pair of tongs, 2 kettles and a little skellet, 2 great pewter dishes, a coverlet of dognes.

Receipt for £12 15s. paid to John Calthrop of Stiffkey by Nathaniel Bacon for half years ferme. Michaelmas 1582.

An agreement made by the mediation of Nathaniel Bacon between Nicholas Geicke of Langham on the one side and Richard Walker, clerk, Robert Berry, John Geicke, Richard Manne and Robert Sofeley on the other. 7 June, 1584.

The parties agree to abide by the decision of Bacon in all suits and controversies now depending between them, except concerning title of land, and that, further, any future disagreements shall be submitted to his arbitration for the next three years.

Admission by Robert Starker of Langham that he owes Nathaniel Bacon 6s. 8d., to be repaid on demand, 3 June 1582.

Receipt for £14 paid by Nathaniel Bacon to Thomas Farmer, 2 November, 22 Eliz.

Account between Nathaniel Bacon and William Todd of Warham 17 July 1584.

Todd's demands

Due upon reckoning for wainscoth piche and tar brought	
over for 29 combes 3 bushels of barley	1/11
Delivered by Todd's brother 100 combes barley from Welles	£20
Two feather beds	£2/15/-
A press	17/-
A bedstead	15/6
A pair of ballance	4/-
100 lbs feathers	£1/13/4
A feather bed tike	2/-
Total	£26/8/9

Bacon's demand

100 combes of barley had from Welles	£31
Due to Bacon	£4/11/3

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 47

An agreement between John Scotter and Cecily Whitbye.

Scotter should have 5s. of Whitbye for half a fine and more if he paid more to Asheley's bailiff. If the lease land occupied by Scotter were not contained in his bond he should have no recompense for his seed wheat and that Mr. Strang should recompense the poor woman (Whitbye). If the lease land were contained in the bond the payment for seed wheat should be to Scotter. Whitby and her husband to release further occupation of the lease land and Scotter to deliver the bond.

Account between Widdow Rike and Nathaniel Bacon, 18 April 1580.

Widdow Rike's demand

200 linges at £6/13/4 per 100	£13/6/8
-------------------------------	---------

Bacon's demand

Paid to her by the hand of John Baker	£10
Remaineth due to her	£3/13/4

Agreement with Dix the miller for removing the mill 21 July 1583.

Dix agrees to remove the windmill in Mostyn¹ and set it up where Bacon shall direct in Langham at his own costs, except carriage from Morston to Langham and the iron work. The work to start immediately after harvest. Bacon to provide boards if any break or be missing. Bacon to pay £6 13s. 4d. 13s. 4d. in hand, £3 at the taking down and £3 at the setting up of the mill and further one stone of black wool.

On dorse.

Agreement between Nathaniel Bacon and Edward Thompson of Blakeney, 21 July 1583.

In consideration of keeping the haven and beacons Thompson to live in the millhouse and to be allowed to keep a cow by the riverside and some ducks, but no geese. Thompson to have poles for beacons and 40s. shall be lent him to buy a boat for fishing, the money to be repaid in fish or cash at Bacon's option. Thompson to have 2s. from every ship for beaconage. Thompson to commence duty at Michaelmas next. The agreement to last a year.

A taxation for quarterly charges in Morston, 1607.

¹ Morston.

48 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Sir Nathaniel Bacon	1/4	Edmund Newman	2d
Thomas Kings	2/8	Widow Framingham	1d.
John Powding	1/2	Francis Shingot	2d.
Robert Powding	1/5	John Kinge	2d.
Thomas Burke	1/-	Brinstede Chadwick	1d
Widow Newbigin	1/-	Mr. Shovell	1d.
William Pallinge	8d.	Mr Braddock	1d.
Peter Shortin	3d.	Widow Marine	1d.
Richard Hurbgoe	4d.	Edmund Sheringham	1d.

Receipt by John Calthorpe of £1 from Nathaniel Bacon being part of his last year's rent for certain lands in Stiffkey, Morston and other places due at Michaelmas next, 4 June 1579.

Note of lands occupied by Page.

In Stole furlong	1 acre
In the same	3 rodes
In the furlong beginning at the south end at Beligns	1 rode
More there	5 rodes
More there	3 rodes
More there	2½ acres
In a furlong on the south side of Blackland	½ acre
At the Pectrie	2½ acres beside half an acre in Petroke mere
At Stories hill	2 acres in a place
To the south of that	1½ acres
At Ealkwaie	3 acres together
In the north field to Warhamwarde	2 acres in three pieces
Sum of the acres is 18½ acres	
Remember to ask Buttie for an acre of land in the Olland.	

Account between Richard Person and William Base, 24 June, 21 Eliz.

Person's demands

Money lent	£1	} Confessed
Delivered your master at Hoult	£10	
By Willes at Lynn Market	£20	
For his father's debt	£6	
(Denied for Smith had it for his father. It is said by Person that Man of Bynham and James Smith heard his father confess this debt on his deathbed)		
For a horse	£4/10/-	
(The 10/- denied as part of the bargain)		

SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS 49

At Yarmouth for the license of 40 qrs wheat £9
(Agreed, if the bailiffs of Yarmouth would confess they are satisfied)

Base's demands

For 110 quarters of license	£3/10/-
(so much is said to be promised)	
The custom of the same	£3/5/-
13 combes of wheat	£6/10/-
For the cocket	4/-
Total	£33/9/-
So remains	£11/1/-

Account with Stephen for work done between 10 October 1579 to 28 December 1580.

Stephen's demands

89 days, boarding himself at 13d. a day	£4/16/5
His son, boarding himself 20 days and a half at 1s. per day	£1/-/6
Stephen, 25 days, boarding with Bacon at 8d. per day	17/8
Barnes his man, 87 days boarding himself	£3/19/9 ¹
Barnes, 32 days, boarding himself at 10d. per day	£1/6/8
Barnes 28½ days boarding with Bacon at 6d. a day	13/6
Parker, 43½ days boarding with Bacon at 6d. a day	£1/1/10½
Framyngham boarding with Bacon at 6d. a day for 27½ days	11/10½
Hill boarding with Bacon 43½ days at 6d. per day	£1/1/10½
Brown boarding himself 38 days at 8d. per day	£1/5/4
Peter Cook, boarding himself 5 days at 11d. per day	4/7
Brown, boarding with Bacon 24 days at 4d per day	8/2
John Maw boarding himself 5 days at 11d. per day	4/7
Stephen, for sawing 550 of oaken timber at 20d. per 100	9/2
Stephen, for a stock lock for the coalhouse door	1/2
To him for 100,000 tilepynes	4/2
More of him which Peternoster ² received in money	£1/10/-
To him for the gallerie and terrets finishing	£10/-/-
(Memorandum) For this bargain of £10 Stephen was to lave the boards of the gallerie as they now be and to finish the compasse rouse and to quarter up the sides and to do both the terrets alike and make the dore at the staeres hedd.	
Total	£29/18/3½

Bacon's demands

Paid to Stephen by Thomas	£2
Paid him by Mr. Blackman	£2

¹ 11d. per day.

² Peternoster probably simply means our Peter.

50 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

Paid him by Baker	£5
Due by Stephen for 5 combes 2 bushels of rye	£1/13/8
For a combe of malt	4/6
For a sawe	8/-
Total	£11/6/2

Memorandum. The money given by Stephen's wife's brother is paid unto him. But there is yet beside due to him for my master's (Bacon's) gifte to his wife's marriage

Remains due to Stephen

£6/13/4
£25/5/5½

Agreement between Nathaniel Bacon and Stephen Chappell,¹ carpenter, 27 December 1582.

Chappell agrees that whereas a plot has been drawn for the erection of a stable in Bacon's yard, the walls and foundations being rough mason's work, he, at his own costs both in boarding himself and his men and in all other things pertaining to carpenter's work and sawing, will finish and erect "all such dorestalles, dores, windows and speringe for windows, planchers and plancheringe with the ruffe and five lucombes, viz., three on the east and two on the west according to the proportion of the plot." The roof and workmanship to be set up by Chappell within convenient time after the masons have finished the walls ready for the roof. Bacon agrees to pay 40 marks; £6 13s. 4d. at the beginning of the work and similar amounts at the paying of the first plancher, the raising up of the roof and at the ending of the work.

Letter from the mayor and certain inhabitants of St. Albans asking that a bond entered into with Bacon's father, which had subsequently been paid to Lady Bacon, should be cancelled, 1 February 1580. The petition is signed by John Gudtryge, mayor, Robert Wolley, William Weste, William Rosse, John Clarke, John Grace, Thomas Wolley and John Arnolde; and is endorsed, directed "to Sir Nath. Bacon, Kt., and Nathaniel Bacon, Esq."

Bond of £10 by Edward Walker of Foulsham, carpenter, to William Flight, of Thursford, tailor to abide by judgment of arbitrators, Edmond Sheringham of Wood Norton and Roger Saliclurte of Crockstow.

Receipt by James Calthropp to Nathaniel Bacon £11 5s. for one-half year's farm, 26 March, 25 Eliz. (1583).

Agreement between Nathaniel Bacon and Edward Bole, rough-mason, 11 March 1580. Bole agrees that before St. Bartholomew

¹ Probably the same man as in the previous document.

next he will make four chimney tops with the hearths. The hall chimney with two tops of moulded work, and the gallery chimneys to be taken down and made in better proportion with the top of moulded work. The "leddy" chimney-top with hearth to be finished as before. If the chimney-tops cannot be finished with moulded work, Bole to finish them with sightcants and to set up and take down the scaffold for finishing the work. Bacon agrees to provide timber for scaffolding and to pay £2 13s. 4d. when the work is completed.

Bond of £30 by Nathaniel Bacon to James Calthorp of Cockthorpe to accept decision of arbitrators in a dispute relating to nine acres of arable land in Stiffkey, 14 August 1581.

Agreement between Nathaniel Bacon and James Dame mariner of Blakeney. Dame agrees to provide before Michaelmas ten flight nets each 90 maskes long and 12 maskes deep, double clocking and making them of good twine. Also to make one draught sea net exactly similar to John Speller's net, with two pokes. Bacon agrees to pay 3s. 4d. for each flight net and 7s. for the sea net.

Receipt by Thomas Whiting servant of John Totothe for £50 paid by Nathaniel Bacon.

Receipt by John Calthorp for £12 15s. paid by Nathaniel Bacon for half-year's rent. 31 March, 1581.

No. 34. Estreat (contemporary) of part of the patent roll conferring annual pensions on various royal clerks, 7 Edward IV.

On dorse part of the act of Edward IV asserting his right to grant offices as from 4 March 1461.

No. 35. Bailiff's account for the manor of Wesyngham. Michaelmas 1496-Michaelmas 1508.

The year 1497-8 is missing.

No. 36. Letter from William Everitt to Sir Horatio Townsend giving particulars of difficulties in collecting rents—no date.

Letter from Charles Davil of Trinity College (Cambridge), to Sir Roger Townshend apologizing for having spoken indiscretely of him at Sir John Hubbarts', 18 March 1630.

Draft of a letter from Bacon to Thomas Atkin and Robert Gawsell.

52 SUPPLEMENTARY STIFFKEY PAPERS

He has examined the case of Edwards *v.* Griggs (which had presumably been referred to the justices) but as the parties refused to come to an agreement, he proposes to recommend that it should come up for hearing at the next assizes at Norwich, 23 April 1605.

Statement of case in a dispute between the daughters of Thomas Stancliffe and Thomas Russell concerning a cottage and ten acres of copy hold land held of the manor of Northall in West Rudham.

INDEX¹

A

- Amies, Agnes, vii, 21, 22.
- Apprentices, vii, 19.
- Arms, xi-xv. *See* Musters.
- Arundel, Lord, 32, 34.
- Ashley, Sir W. J., x n.

B

- Bacon, Sir Nathaniel, notices of in the *Stiffkey Papers*, v-xviii, and 1-52 *passim*, xvi-xviii, 39-52.
- his interest in the local clergy, xvi, 17, 18
- his note-book cases, vi, vii, 14-17.
- as Commissioner of musters, xiii.
- as Justice of the Peace and Special Commissioner, vi-xi, 1-24.
- as Deputy-Lieutenant and Commissioner of musters, xi-xv, 25-34.
- as Clerk of the Market (Methwold) and Deputy Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, xv-xvi, 35-38.
- as lord of manors, xvi-xviii, 39-52.

Bail, special, viii.

- Barter (payment in kind) in Norfolk Manors, xvii, 43-51.
- Beacons, provision for lighting, xiii, xiv
- Blakeney, xiii, xiv.
- Bonds for good behaviour, vii-x.
- Boston, 1, 2.
- Boult, Thos., vii.
- Brancaster, rector of, xiv.
- Bury St. Edmunds, 2.

C

- Cambridge, county of, 1, 2.
- salters of, x.
- Corn, returns of, ix, x, xi, 4-6, 40-50.
- Cromer, 42 n.
- Cromwell, Lord, 4, 9.
- Curzon, Capt., xiii.

D

- Drainage, ix.
- reports, 38.
- Dutch at Norwich, xi.

E

- Exchequer Court, ix, x.

¹ This Index must not be regarded as exhaustive, since the descriptions of the documents given in the text were intended as a guide to the contents.

F

Ferrou, of Grassinghall, viii, ix,
7-10.
Fleet Prison, ix.

H

Harwyn *v.* Ferrou, case of, viii,
ix, 7, 9.
Holt, 10, 13, 18
Hospital cases, vii.
Household economy, v, x.
Hudson, Rev. Wm., xii.

J

Justices of the Peace, vi-viii.

K

King, Mr. H., xi n.

L

Lancaster, Duchy of, in Norfolk,
xv, xvi.
Langham, bailiffs' accounts for,
39.
Lieutenant, Lord and Deputy.
See Norfolk.
Lynn, x, xi.
— salt monopoly at, x.
Lynn, Kings, 1, 2, 3, 18, 29, 31.
— — salt monopoly in, 1-3.

M

Moris, J. E., 11 n.
Marshland, x. *See* Drainage.
Martyn, G. R., v.
Maslin, xi.
Mattshall, ix.
Melton Constable, 11.
Methwold, Clerk of the Market
in, xvi, 35-39.
Militia. *See* Norfolk.
Monopoly (salt), xi.
Musters. *See* Norfolk.

N

Norfolk, ammunition for militia
of, xv.
— arms of recusants in, xii-xv.
— Assizes for, 8, 9, 18, 20.
— bailiffs of, ix.
— bailiffs' accounts in, 39-47.
— Calendar of Justices' cases in,
5, 16.
— corn returns of in, 5, 6.
— Duchy of Lancaster, juris-
diction in, xv, xvi, 35-39.
— Lieutenants (Lords and Dep-
uties for, xi-xv.
— Militia in, xi-xv, 25-34.
— musters in, xi-xv, 27-34.
— overseers of poor for, 10-13.
— Privy seal, loan for, 20.
— Sheriff of, 4.
Northamptonshire, county rec-
ords, xi, xv.
Northampton, archdeacon of, 27.
Northampton, Lord, 25.
Norwich, assizes at. *See* Nor-
folk.
— aliens at, xi, 18-20.
— bishop of, xiv, 25.
— castle of, 8.
— headquarters of county
Militia at, xv.

O

Okleby, Ric., vii.
Overseers' Accounts (Norfolk),
11-13.

P

Parker, Jo, case of, ix.
Passlow. *See* Webb.
Peace, persons bound to, vii, 15,
16.
Pigeon *v.* Wade, case of, ix.
Poor Law, vii.
Privy Council, Acts of the, xiv.

R

Rye bread, x.
Rye, Walter, xi.

S

Saham Tony, rector of, xiv.
Salt, abuses alleged against
monopoly of at Lynn, xi,
1-3.
Salters, x.
Saunders, H. W., v n., x, xi.
Sea Banks. *See* Terrington.
Selby, x.
Sewers, Court of, x n.
Shakespeare, W., ix.
Sheringham, 3.
Shylock, prototype of, ix.
Star Chamber, ix.
— cases in, ix.
Stiffkey, 13.
— bailiffs' accounts of, 43
— building of the "Old Hall"
in, xvii, 49-51.
— manor of, farming at, build-
ing at, inhabitants of, xvi-
xviii, 43-52 *and passim*.
— repairs to house at, 48, 50, 51.
— whale cast up near, 35.
Stiffkey Papers, ed. H. W.
Saunders, v, vi, x, xi *and*
passim.
Stonor Papers, vi.
Suffolk, salters of, x.

T

Tawney, R. H., ix n.
Terrington, Sea Bank, v, x.
— rector of, xiv.
Thetford, 8.
Thompson, Edw, keeper of
Blakeney beacon, xiv.

Thomson, G. Scott, xi n.
Tingey. *See* Hudson.
Townshend, Anne, 13.
Townshend, Roger, 13, 51.
— corn account of, 40-44.
Townshend, Sir Roger, xi n.
Townshend Papers, v.

U

Usury, viii, ix n.

V

Victualling, x.
— certificates for merchant
vessels on foreign voyages,
17.

W

Wade, Thos., ix.
Wake, Joan, xi n.
Walloons at Norwich, xi.
Walsingham, vii.
Walsingham, Francis, 42.
Webb, S and B., vii n.
Wells (Norfolk), vii.
Wells, 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 30,
35, 39, 46.
— Whale cast up on foreshore,
xvi, 35-37.
Wissett, minister of, xvi, xvii.
Witchcraft, vii.
Wool, return of, used by
strangers at Norwich, 18.
Woollens, industry of, xi, 18.
Worlock, Capt., muster master
for Norfolk, xiii, 27.
Wreck, spoiling of by male-
factors, 3-4.
Wymondham, Francis, 3, 4.
Wyndham, Roger, 3, 4.

A PROBATE INVENTORY OF
GOODS AND CHATTELS OF
SIR JOHN ELIOT, LATE PRISONER
IN THE TOWER, 1633

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THE INVENTORY OF THE
GOODS AND CHATTELS
OF SIR JOHN ELIOT

INTRODUCTION¹

While working on the papers of Sir John Eliot at Port Eliot in St. Germans, Cornwall, I came across this interesting inventory of the personal property of the great parliamentary radical of the early seventeenth century. It is written in an official hand on a parchment roll thirty-two feet long, and is an inventory of his movables not only at Port Eliot² but also at Cuttenbeake.³ In fact, a glance at this document will show that Cuttenbeake was the principal residence of the Eliots in the early seventeenth century, while Port Eliot at this time can hardly be considered in that light. This may be partially explained by the fact that Cuttenbeake⁴ was situated on a hill, while Port Eliot was half a mile away in the damp valley of the Tiddy River.

As is well known, Sir John Eliot spent virtually the last four years of his life in prison, and most of that time in the Tower, where

¹ The modern title of the document printed below, with facilities kindly given by the Hon. Sir Montague Eliot, is given on the title page. The contemporary official title for probate, is given below and is summarized in the half title. The MS. has always been in the possession of his family at Port Eliot. References are given here to parallel documents in the muniment-room at Port Eliot.

² Port Eliot was held by Sir John Eliot of the King in capite by service of 1/40th part of a knight's fee at an annual rent of 7*l.*—*Ibid.*, Port Eliot Title Deeds, No. 29. From Oct. 10, 1617, to 1633 Port Eliot was leased to Arthur Copleston, gent., at an annual rent of 6*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* and a fine of 1,500*l.*—*ibid.*, No. 33.

³ The manor of Cuttenbeake (or Cuddenbeak) was leased by the Eliots from the Bishop of Exeter. The annual rent was 64*l.* 3*s.*, besides which a fine of 450*l.* was paid in 1608. A lease of Dec. 11, 1632, is to extend for three lives, those of John Eliot, esq. (the son and heir of Sir John), his wife Honora (or Honor), and his brother Edward. I have found six leases dealing with Cuttenbeake during the first forty years of the seventeenth century. (Port Eliot, Muniment Room, Cuttenbeake Title Deeds, Bundle lxxviii.)

⁴ The site of Cuttenbeake is now occupied by the goods station of the Great Western Railway at St. Germans.

he died on November 28, 1632.¹ Throughout the greater part of his life, and particularly during the years of his imprisonment, his trusted and intimate servant was Maurice Hill. To him were delegated all his financial affairs, besides innumerable other duties. Hence it is only natural to find that Eliot made Hill one of the executors of his will.²

It is from a Chancery suit six years after the death of Sir John that we learn the direct connection of Maurice Hill with this inventory. In his answer to the plaintiff's bill of complaint³ John Eliot, esq., the defendant, eldest son and heir of his famous father, alleges among other things that

Maurice Hill only took upon him the said executorship⁴ and proved the said will in the Prerogative Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury . . . And thereupon the said Maurice Hill possessed himself of the goods and personal estate of the said Sir John Eliot and caused the same to be duly inventoried and appraised, as this defendant believeth, which said inventory amounted to the sum of nine hundred and sixty pounds, five shillings, and eight pence,⁵ as by the said inventory remaining of record in the said Prerogative Court⁶ (as this defendant believeth) appeareth. And this defendant saith that the said Maurice Hill did sell and dispose of a great part of the said goods and left the other part thereof unto this defendant, which this defendant hath long since paid towards the satisfying of the just debts of the said Sir John Eliot.⁷

This statement, however, does not disclose why Hill caused the inventory to be made just at that particular time, April 6, 1633.⁸ The probable explanation, as to why such a step was taken then, is the marriage of John Eliot to Honora Norton.

With only the slightest fore-warning Sir Daniel Norton of South-

¹ Usually given as 27th, but see below, p. vii and note 2

² Port Eliot Title Deeds, No 27, and original document at Somerset House, proved Dec. 11, 1632.

³ Public Record Office, Chancery Proceedings, Charles I, C 2, B 156.51, Bolard vs Eliot. The answer to the bill of complaint is dated Aug 25, 1638. The defendant, John Eliot, esq., was 21 years old early in Oct., 1633, as he was baptized at St. Germans on Oct. 18, 1612 (St. Germans Parish Register).

⁴ The other executors were Sir Dudley Digges, John Arundel, esq., Bevil Grenville, esq., Robert Mason, esq., and William Scawen, gent. The original document at Somerset House states that Maurice Hill alone proved the will

⁵ It is interesting to compare these figures with those given below at the end of the inventory.

⁶ The inventory is not at Somerset House. Cf. *Reports of the Public Record Commission, 1910-1919 passim*.

⁷ The spelling and punctuation of this quotation have been modernized.

⁸ See below, p 1 of inventory, for this date

wicke, Hants, was told on November 24, 1632, by Sir Oliver Luke that Sir John Eliot desired the marriage of his eldest son, John, to Sir Daniel's daughter, Honora. Two days later Norton visited Sir John in the Tower where they agreed to the match. It was decided that Honora's marriage portion should be 3,000*l.* provided that John Eliot's estate were 1,500*l.* per annum, of which 700*l.* should be settled on his wife for her jointure. The principals were immediately informed of this decision and met each other for the first time on November 27. On the next day at two o'clock in the morning, according to Sir Daniel's testimony, Sir John Eliot died in the Tower leaving his son a minor, the ward of the King. In the meantime Dame Honora Norton had sent for a royal licence to enable her daughter to marry John Eliot. And then, probably knowing that Sir John might die at any moment leaving the bridegroom at the mercy of the court of wards, the two young people gambled and were married in West Barrant, Hants, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th before the licence arrived. But it was too late, they had lost. Of course both they and all who were present¹ at the ceremony were completely ignorant of the death of Sir John Eliot seven hours earlier. Thus was perpetrated the "ravishment" of John Eliot, ward of King Charles.²

Before any punishment was meted out for this "crime" against the King, the manor of Cuttenbeake with all lands attached was conveyed by the trustees of Sir John Eliot, deceased, on March 15, 1633, to Sir Daniel Norton and others on the payment of 2,000*l.*³ Presumably Honora's marriage portion had been reduced since the original agreement, and Cuttenbeake was being held for her by her father and others as her jointure. It was only five days later, on March 20, that the court of wards and liveries handed down its decision and fined heavily all those who had participated in the "ravishment" of John Eliot.⁴ Furthermore, the court

¹ Sir Daniel Norton was in London and did not attend the ceremony.

² The facts referred to in the above paragraph are to be found in *The Genealogist*, New Series, I, 21-7, London, 1884, "The Ravishment of Sir John Eliot's Son," by George J. Morris. The greater part of the article is a direct quotation from the Patent Roll of 9 Charles I, June 21, 1633, which cites the record of the case in the court of wards.

³ Port Eliot, Muniment Room, Cuttenbeake Title Deeds, Bundle lxviii.

⁴ Among those who made up the total of 1,700 marks in fines, Dame Honora Norton had to pay 500 marks, John Eliot 500 marks, Honora Eliot 400 marks, and Sir Daniel Norton was made responsible for the fines of all. *Genealogist*, N S, I, 25.

doubled the marriage fee to be paid by the King's ward for having married without a licence, and thereby raised it from 2,000*l.* to 4,000*l.*¹ Thus there was more than sufficient warrant for taking immediately a careful inventory of Port Eliot as well as Cuttenbeake, not to mention as a cause for such action, the debts left by Sir John Eliot.²

¹ *Genealogist*, N.S., I, 25-6 When, by June 21, 1633, 1,000*l.* had been paid into the Court of Wards, and 3,000*l.* had been paid by Sir Daniel Norton into the Exchequer, the King remitted all the fines levied for the ravishment of John Eliot. This was the reason for issuing the letters patent on the above date

² The editor is greatly indebted to Dr Hubert Hall for his valuable assistance.

AN INVENTORIE OF THE GOODS AND CHATTELS OF JOHN ELLIOT KNIGHT, LATE OF PORT ELIOTT, DECEASED

Takenn the sixt day of Aprill Anno Domini one Thousand
sixe hundred and Thirty three, and praised and valued by
Paschowe Lawrie, Robert Harrye, Robert Moore, and
Richard Barnard, as followeth, vizt.

Inprimis, his best horse, saddle and armour, .	xxl.
Item, his weareinge apparrell and money in his purse	cl.

IN THE DINEING ROOME AT CUTTENBEAKE

Item, tenn peeces of hangeinges,	iii ^l .	xs.
Item, one longe table board ¹ and one round table board, twoe cushion velvet chaires and twenty fower stooles,	iii ^l .	xiiis. iiid.
Item, one Turkey worke carpet and one arras carpet,	iii ^l .	
Item, one screene,		xs.
Item, a paire of andirons, fire shovell, tonges and a paire of bellowes, ²		iiis. viiid.
Item, one grate of iron to make fire in,		iiis. iiid.

¹ "A board forming the top of a table, also a table"—*New English Dictionary*, edited by J. A. H. Murray, hereafter referred to as *N.E.D.*

² In 1654 andirons, fire-shovel, tongs and bellows cost 12s.—J. E. Thorold Rogers: *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 1259-1792, Oxford, 1866-1902, V, 694. Only a very rough idea of the relation of the prices

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS

IN THE YELLOW CHAMBER AT CUTTENBEAKE

Item, one bedstead, one featherbed and feather boulster, one pillowe, one paire of blanckets, one rugg, curtaines and vallance, . . .	vl.	xs.
Item, one chaier and three lowe stooles, . . .		xiiis. iiid.
Item, one paire of andirons, . . .		iiis.
Item, the hangeings about the chamber, . . .	iiil.	
<i>Summa</i> , ¹	CXLIII.	xs. viiid.

IN THE GALLORIE CHAMBER

Inprimis, one bedsted, one featherbed, one feather boulster, twoe pillowes, one paire of blanckets, one rugg, curtaines and vallance, . . .	vii.	
Item, one court cupboard ² and a Turkey worke carpet,		xs.
Item, five trunckes,		xxxs.

IN THE CHILDREN'S CHAMBER

Item, one high bedsted and twoe trundle bed- steads, ³ three feather beds, five feather bol- sters, foure ould coverlets and one paire of blanckets,	viii.	
Item, one cupbord and one stoole		vs
Item, one still ⁴ (<i>sic</i>)		iiis.

IN THE MIDDLE CHAMBER

Item, one high bedsted and one trundle bedsted, three feather beds, twoe coverlets, three blanckets, twoe boulders and twoe canvase bedtyes and twoe paier of blanckets . . .	vl.	xs
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of this and the following goods or commodities to the contemporary market prices could be obtained from printed sources. Hence it would be dangerous to compare such prices with those in this inventory. Workmanship, size, etc., would all have to be taken into consideration in such comparisons.

¹ This total is incorrect. It should be 140l. 6s. 8d.

² "A movable side-board or cabinet used to display plate, etc."—*N.E.D.*

³ "A trundle-bed was a kind of low couch, generally appropriated to the use of attendants, who, in those days, slept in the same room with their masters for the sake of protection"—Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 1845, I, 86, note.

⁴ Possibly a *steale* meaning a steel mirror—*N.E.D.*—unless this was used as a still-room.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE BUTTERYE

Inprimis, one high bedsted, one trundle bedsted, twoe feather beds, twoe feather bouldsters, four pillows, one arras coverlid, twoe other coverlids, curtaines and vallance . . .	XIIII ^l .
Item, one table board and a carpet, twoe lowe stooles, twoe andirons and a paire of tonges	XXS.
Item, twoe spruce chests and twoe other chests .	LIIIS IIIII ^d .
Summa	XL ^l . XIS. IIIII ^d .

IN THE CLOSET OVER THE PORCH

Inprimis, one little case of bottles . . .	Vs.
Item, glasses and glasse plates . . .	XLS
Item, three trunks . . .	XXVS.
Item, twoe peeces of white cloth . . .	XXXS.
Item, five taffatie curtaines . . .	XLS.
Item, five other taffatie curtaines of another sort	XLS.
Item, twoe paire of curtaines of greene sea ¹ .	XLS.
Item, four other curtaines of sea . . .	XS.
Item, one painted callicowe quilt . . .	XXVIS. VIIII ^d .
Item, one ould tester ² of sea . . .	Vs.
Item, one ould arras coverlid . . .	XXS.
Item, one bed tye and bouldster . . .	XXS.
Item, twoe old curtaines and a paire of vallance	IIIS IIIII ^d .
Item, course glasses and glasse bottles . . .	VIS. VIIII ^d .
Item, one velvet quilt imbrothered with gold and silke	XX ^l .
Item, one little presse cupboard and twoe paire of ballances and weights . . .	XS.
Item, three boxes of trenchers . . .	VIS
Summa ³	LXX ^l . VIIIS. VIIII ^d .

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE BUTTERIE CHAMBER

Inprimis, one bedsted, one featherbed and bould- ster and twoe coverlids . . .	v ^l .
Item, one little old cupboard . . .	IIIS.
Item, twoe lookeing glasses . . .	XIIIS. IIIII ^d .

¹ "Say, a cloth of fine texture resembling serge; in the 16th c. sometimes partly of silk, subsequently entirely of wool."—*N E D*.

² "A canopy over a bed, supported on the posts of the bedstead or suspended from the ceiling."—*Ibid*.

³ This total should be 36^l. 7s. 8^d.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS

IN THE OTHER CHAMBER OVER THE BUTTERY CHAMBER

Inprimis, one high bedstead and one trundle bedstead, twoe featherbeds, twoe boulders and one coverlet	xl.	
Summa ¹	lii.	liis.

IN THE HALL

Inprimis, three table bords, three formes ² and three chaires	liii.	
Item, one other little round table		liiis.

IN THE PARLOR CHAMBER

Inprimis, one bedsted, one featherbed, twoe boulders, one paire of blanckets, twoe covereds	vi.	
Item, one chaire and a paire of andirons		vis. viiis.

IN THE STUDDIE

Inprimis, one table board, chaire, cushion and carpett		xxs.
Item, three mapps		xliis. liiis.
Item, twoe cabinets	xlii.	xliis. liiis.
Item, his bookes	xl.	

IN THE PARLOR OF CUTTINBEAKE

Item, one table bord, one square table board and a liverie table ³	liii.	
Item, twoe greene carpets		xxxxs.
Item, one couch, one greate chaire and a dozenn of stooles	liii.	
Item, nine peeces of hangeinges	liii.	xs.
Item, other arras hangeinges	vii.	
Item, one Turkye worke carpet and one ould carpet	xls.	
Item, twoe ould cupbord clothes		liis. liiis.
Item, one paire of ironn andirons		xs.

¹ This total is also incorrect. It should be 15*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* On adding the correct total in note 3, p. 3 above, with this corrected total the result is 52*l.* 3*s.*, which is the total in the text

² "A long seat without a back, a bench."—*N.E.D.*

³ "A table on which 'liveries' or rations were put; hence, a side table."
—*Ibid.*

IN THE PICTURE CHAMBER

Item, one high bedsted, one trundle bedsted, twoe featherbeds, three bouldsters, three coverlets, twoe paire of blanckets, one paire of silke curtaines and vallance . . .	xvii. cii.	xs viiij.
<i>Summa</i>		
Item, one chaire and twoe lowe stooles, three window cushions and a liverie table . .		xxxs.
Item, a paire of andirons, a fire shovell, a paire of bellowes and a warmeinge pann . .		xs.

IN THE CHAPPELL CHAMBER

Inprimis, one bedsted, one featherbed, one boul- ster and a pillowe, a paire of blanckets and a covered		xlvis. viiij.
Item, one table board		iiis. iiij.

IN MR. DIXES¹ CHAMBER

Inprimis, one bedstead, one featherbed, one boulster, twoe pillowes, a paire of blanc- ketts and a canapie.	vi.	
Item, one paire of bellowes and a little paire of doggs.		iis

IN THE MATTED CHAMBER

Item, one bedsted, one featherbed, one feather boulster, three feather pillowes, twoe fine white ruggs, twoe arras coverlets, curtaines, vallance and teaster	xxi.	
Item, one chaire and twoe lowe stooles, one win- dowe cushion of needle worke and twoe cushions of the same	iii.	vis. viiij.
Item, one paire of brasse andirons, fire shovell and tongs		xxxs.
Item, one liverie table		vis. viiij.

IN THE OUTER CHAMBER OVER THE HALL

Item, one bedsted, one featherbed, twoe bolsters, one paire of blanckets, one coverlet, one table board		xls.
<i>Summa</i>	xxxvii.	xvs. iiij.

¹ Mr. Dix was formerly the minister in the parish of St. Germans. Sir John Eliot, writing to the Bishop of Exeter on October 24, 1625, about a new minister, says that they want him "in the roome of Mr. Dix, now plac't elswer."—Port Eliot, MS. Letter Book A. B Grosart, *The Letter Book of Sir John Eliot*, Priv. Prin., 1882, p. 4

IN THE INNER CHAMBER OVER THE HALL

Inprimis, twoe high bedsteds, one trundle bed-
sted, twoe featherbeds, three bouldsters, twoe
coverlets, IIII.

IN COPLESTON'S¹ CHAMBER

Item, a chaire and a ioined stoole. IIIS. IIIId.

IN THE STOREHOUSE CHAMBER

Item, three old featherbeds LIIIS. IIIId.
Item, twoe iron grates VIS.
Item, a paire of wooll weights, three ould barrills
and twoe pillers of a bedsted. VIS.
Item, fortye pound weight of feathers XXS.
Item, three bed pans VIIS. VIId.

IN THE BUTTERIE

Item, one table bord, one cupbord, a bunge² and
one forme XXVIS. VIIIId.
Item, foure hogsheds and sixe barrills XXXS.
Item, sixe chamber pots VIS. VIIIId.
Item, foure brasse candlesticks XIIS.
Item, one little chap³ and a pewter salt seller, a
flagon, three pewter candlesticks and three
jugs VIIIS.
Item, foure dozenn and halfe of trenchers IIS.

IN THE BREWHOUSE

Item, a furnace IIII. VIS. VIIIId.
Item, a greate brewinge keeve with a frame and
fourteene other keeves and tubbs and three
frames for beareing them IIII.
Item, twoe brand irons. IS. VIId.
Summa⁴ XXII. XIS. IIId.

¹ Mr Copleston leased Port Eliot from 1617 to 1633. See above, p. v, note 2. He also had a special chamber there. See below, p. 12.

² Probably a *bank*, meaning "a bench, shelf, plate-rack, or dresser"—*NED*.

³ Possibly a *cap*, a cup or a small vessel, or a *chape*, "a plate of metal with which anything is covered, overlaid, or ornamented"—*Ibid*.

⁴ This total is incorrect. It should be 20*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

OF SIR JOHN ELIOT

7

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE BREWEHOUSE

Inprimis, A Limbecke ¹ (<i>sic</i>) for aqua vite ² .	VIIIIs.
Item, one greate ould chest, nine old wooddenn barrills and tubbs	Xs.
Item, twoe greate crocks and one ould kettle and a brasse skillett	IIIIl. Xs.

IN THE DAIRIE

Item, five panns	Ls.
Item, sixe shelves, three bowles and a ioint stoole	VIIIIs.
Item, twoe brandirons	IIs.
Item, fower little hand tubbs and some earthenn vessells and sixe buckets	XIs.
Item, a cheesewring	Vs.
Item, a mustard mill	Is. vid.

IN THE KITCHIN

Item, one greate paire of andirons and one lesser paire	XXs.
Item, one greate barr of ironn	Vis. VIIId.
Item, foure paire of pothookes and four paier of potcrookes	VIIIIs.
Item, seavenn spits	XXs.
Item, twoe dripping pans and twoe frieinge panns	Xs.
Item, twoe gridirons and one iron grate	Vs.
Item, a pestle and mortar	Xs.
Item, one brasse chafindishe	IIs.
Item, twoe mincing knives, three cleavers, a fish skimmer, twoe brasse ladles, a little lattin ³ skimmer.	Xs.
<i>Summa</i>	XIIIIl. XVIIIs. IIId.
Item, sixe brazen crocks and an ironn crocke.	VII.
Item, twoe caldrons and twoe skillets	XXs.
Item, one ironn grate to burne coale and an iron forke	Vs.
Item, twoe close buckets with some wooddenn dishes	IIIs.
Item, twoe kitchin boards, a dresserboard, ⁴ an ould barrill and an ould chest	Vis. VIIId.

¹ *Alembic*, "an apparatus formerly used in distilling"—*Ibid*.

² *Aqua-vitæ*, "any form in which ardent spirits have been drunk, as brandy, whisky, etc."—*Ibid*.

³ *Latten*, "a mixed metal of yellow colour, either identical with, or closely resembling, brass"—*Ibid*.

⁴ "Dresser, a sideboard or table in a kitchen on which food is or was dressed."—*Ibid*

IN THE PANNERIE AND LARDER

Inprimis, foure tubbs and flesh barrils . . .	xxx.
Item, one little cupbord, twoe ould chests, twoe pastrie boards, a cutting stocke ¹ and three shelves	vis. viiij <i>d</i> .

PEWTER

Inprimis, three great chargers, five greate pewter dishes, foure dozenn and three dishes of other pewter, one dozenn of sallett dishes, three dozenn of trencher plates, twelve lesser plates and seaventeene other lesser plates, foure pye plates and a pastyē plate, one longe dishe and three ould sallett dishes, . .	viii <i>l</i> .	iiis.	xd.
Item, in the Kitchin, seaventeene pewter dishes .		xxxs.	
Item, thirteene other small dishes and sawcers		vs.	

PLATE²

Inprimis, twoe greate cupps of ostridge eggs . .	xiiii <i>l</i> .	vis. viiij <i>d</i> .
Item, one bason and ewer of China		xxs.
Item, twenty silver spoones	vi <i>l</i> .	
Summa	xxxix <i>l</i> .	vis. xd.
Item, fower silver bowles that goe about the house	viii <i>l</i> .	
Item, a double salt seller with a cover, one silver basonn and ewer, twoe silver flagons, one sugar boxe of silver, eight silver sawcers for viniger, sixe little silver spoones, one broad guilte bowle, twoe guilt casteninge bottles, ³ one greate double guilt salt, one little guilt salt, and one trencher guilt salt	lviii <i>l</i> .	xviii <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
Item, a cupp of mother of pearle		vs.
Item, a tosteinge forke of silver		vs.
Item, one other basonn and ewer	vi <i>l</i> .	xiii <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
Item, twoe silver candlesticks ⁴	xiiii <i>l</i> .	vis. viiij <i>d</i> .
Item, a paire of silver snuffers		xs.

¹ "The block or table on which a butcher or fishmonger cuts his goods."—*N.E.D.*

² Silver plate was worth 5*s* 7*d* an ounce from 1623 to 1632 and 5*s*. 5½*d*. an ounce from 1633 to 1642.—Rogers, *op. cit.*, V, 504.

³ *Casting-bottle*, "a bottle for sprinkling perfumed waters; a vinaigrette."—*N.E.D.*

⁴ Silver candlesticks cost 9*l* 1*s*. 8*d*. a pair in 1684.—Rogers, *op. cit.*, V, 692.

Item, a silver bill ¹		xxxs.
Item, a dozen of silver spoones	vl.	
Item, one other silver salt	iiil.	
Item, The linnen in the greate spruce chest over the Butterie	xxiiil.	xis. iiid.
Item, linnen in the little coffer over the Buttery	iiil.	vis. xd.
Item, the linnen that goeth about the house	vil.	ixs. iid.
Item, one gray mare ²	vl.	
Item, one gray nag ³	viii.	
Item, three labour horses	viii.	
Item, one younge gueldinge	vil.	xiiis. iiid.
Item, three colts	vil.	
Item, the blacke stoned nagg	viii.	
Item, one white mare	vl.	
Item, one bay mare		xls.
Summa ⁴	ccxli.	ixs.
Item, eleven hogs	vl.	xs.
Item, eight hogges		xxiiis.
Item, five little pigges ⁵		xs.
Item, fourtie younge sheepe ⁶	xiiii.	
Item, forty five ewes and lambes	xii.	xs.
Item, eight oxenn ⁷	xxxiii.	
Item, foure kine and twoe heafers.	xviii.	
Item, foure yonge bullockes of twoe yeares of age	xl.	
Item, foure yearelinges	vl.	xs.
Item, sixe rearing calves ⁸	iiil.	
Item, five acres of wheate ⁹ on the ground	xvii.	xs.

¹ Probably a bell.

² The highest price for a saddle or coach horse in 1632 was 12*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* In 1633 it was 9*l.*—*Ibid.*, V, 349.

³ "A saddle-horse, as distinguished from a cart-horse."—Wright, *op cit.*
⁴ "A small riding horse or pony."—*N E D.*

⁵ This total is incorrect. It should be 177*l.* 9*s.*

⁶ Sucking pigs cost about 2*s.* apiece in the sixteen hundred and thirties—Rogers, *op cit.*, V, 342.

⁷ The highest price for sheep in 1633 was 11*s.* 6*d.* apiece, for lambs in the same year it was 6*s.* 9*d.* apiece—*Ibid.*, V, 349.

⁸ The highest price for oxen in 1633 was 156*s.* 10*d.* apiece, but these were contract price and the beasts diminutive—*Ibid.*, V, 349.

⁹ The highest price for calves in 1632 was 18*s.* apiece—*Ibid.*, V, 349.

¹⁰ Best wheat sold at 5*s.* or slightly more the bush. in 1632-3.—*Ibid.*, V, 199. See also D'Ewes, *op cit.*, I, 180-1, *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq. Camden Soc.*, 1848, p. 17, where there is a table of prices in which wheat is priced at 5*s.* a bush in 1630 and barley at 4*s.* 6*d.*, and *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1931), Vol 256, p 127

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS

Item, the barlie ¹ in the ground, beinge twenty acres	xl.	
Item, fifeteene acres of oates in the ground .	xvi.	
Item, sixeteene bushells of barley in the barne .	iii.	
Item, eight bushells of wheate in the barne .	iii.	xs
Item, timber at the barne	xxvii.	xiii. iiiid.
Summa ²	ccxviii.	xvs. iiiid.

A particular of the goods remaininge at Porteliott

IN THE HALL

Inprimis, twoe table boards and twoe formes .	xxvis.	viiiid.
Item, three muskets furnished	iii.	
Item, three costlets furnished	iii.	
Item, nine pikes		xs.
Item, a jacke ³ with his weight, and ten curtaine rods		xxs.

IN THE PARLOR

Item, one bedsteade, twoe table-boards and eleaven chaires	iii.	vis. viiiid.
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IN THE DINEING ROOME

Inprimis, one longe table-board, twoe liverye tables and a chaire	vi.	
Item, three feather beds, three boulsters and three pillowes	xiii.	
Item, twoe flock ⁴ beds and twoe bolsters .	iii.	
Item, five ruggs and a coverlet	vi.	
Item, one quilt		xxs.
Item, twoe paire of curtaines and vallance .	xxvis.	viiiid.
Item, eleaven peeces of mingled sea hangeings .	xls.	
Item, three cushions	vs.	viid

¹ Barley sold at slightly less than 3s a bush in 1632-3—Rogers, *op cit*, V, 199.

² This total is not quite correct. It should be 217l 14s. 4d.

³ "A coat of mail; a defensive upper garment quilted with stout leather."
—J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*,
London, 1850. Also "a machine for turning the spit in roasting meat,"
or "a name for various contrivances consisting (solely or essentially) of a
roller or winch"—*N.E.D.*

⁴ pl. "a material consisting of the coarse tufts and refuse of wool or cotton,
or of cloth torn to pieces by machinery, used for quilting garments, and
stuffing beds, cushions, mattresses, etc"—*Ibid*

OF SIR JOHN ELIOT

II

Item, one halfe headed bedsted and one pallat ¹	
bedstead	VIII ^l
Item, foure trunckes and a great chest, in the	
entrie	XLS

IN THE INNER CHAMBER WITHIN THE DINING ROOME

Item, one bedstead and one close stoole	XXVIS. VIII ^d .
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IN THE CHAMBER NEXT THE DINEING ROOME

Item, one bedstead and one close stoole	XLS.
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LINNEN AT PORTELIOT

Item, three paire of canvas sheetes	XVIIIIS
Item, one dozenn of ould napkins.	IIIS.
Item, foure paire and one odd sheete of Holland ²	XLS
Item, twoe paire of Holland pillow beeres ³	VIIIS
Item, three square board cloathes and three	
towells	XS.

IN THE STUDDY AT PORTELIOT

Item, one tablebord, bedstead and court cupbord	XXXS
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IN THE DOWER CHAMBER

Item, one standinge bedstead and one trundle	
bedsted, one liverie table and one old chest	IIII ^l .

IN THE GREAT CHEST IN THE ENTRIE BY THE DINEING ROOME

Inprimis, twoe windowe cushions	XS.
Item, one peece of arras hangeings	XL.
Item, twoe ould Turkey worke carpets	XXXS.
Item, another Turkey worke carpet	IIII ^l .
Item, one windowe cushion	VS.
Item, twoe other cushions of needle work and a	
needle worke chaire not made upp.	XXXS.
Item, three paire of old curtaines	XIIIS. IIII ^d .
Summa ⁴	XXVIII ^l . XVIIIS. IIII ^d .

¹ *Pallet*, "a small, poor, or mean bed or couch"—*Ibid*

² The word Holland is a generic name for linen—Rogers, *op cit*, V, 554.

³ *Bear*, "a case or covering for a pillow Usually Pillow-bere."—*N E D*.

⁴ This total is incorrect. It should be 82^l. 19s. 6^d.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE BUTERIE AND THE ROOME WITHIN THE
SAME

Inprimis, one bedstead and one little table-board	XXs.
Item, a presse and a scriptine ¹ (<i>sic</i>)	XXs.
Item, one greate chest, one greate truncke and a table-board	XXs.
Item, twenty nine pewter dishes, one dozenn of sawcers, twoe old chamber pots and a candle sticke	LVI ^s . VIII ^d .
Item, a bedstoole	IIIs.
Item, twoe fish plates and a plate hangeinge candlesticke	IIIs.
Item, twoe fire shovells, one frieing pann and one gridironn	Vs.
Item, twoe paire of little andirons	VIs.
Item, one paire of pothookes, one chafing dish and a bakeing pann	IIs
Item, one ironn barr and a grate	IIIs. III ^d .
Item, twoe ironn grates	IIIs.

IN THE STOREHOUSE

Item, twoe old truncks and a chest and twoe hogsheads	XXs.
Item, one brasse crocke	VIs VIII ^d .
Item, in the dairye a cheesewringe	Vs.

IN THE BREWEHOUSE

Item, a furnace	III ^d .
Item, twoe keeves and twoe tubbs	XXXs.
Summa ²	VIII ^d . IIIs. VIII ^d .

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE STABLE

Item, one bedstead, a little table-bord, one ioined stoole and one ould truncke	XXs.
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IN MR. COPLESTON'S CHAMBER

Item, one bedstead, twoe chaires and a frame for a table-board	XIIIs. III ^d .
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¹ Possibly, *scriptore*, a writing-desk—*N.E.D.*² This total is incorrect. It should be 13l. 4s. 8d.

IN THE GATEHOUSE CHAMBER AND TWOE OTHER CHAMBERS

Item, three bedsteds XLS.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE LARDER

Item, one bedsted VIS VIII^d.

IN THE MAIDES CHAMBER

Item, twoc ould bedsteds and one table board XIIIS.

IN THE BUTTERIE

Item, one cupboard, twoe side boards and stolve XXS.

IN THE KITCHIN

Item, one storeinge trough and a dresser board XXS

IN THE SELLER

Item, twoe pipes, twoe hogsheads and a barrill XXVIS VIII^d

Item, a paire of oares for a barge . . . VIS VIII^d

Item, twoe stominge ¹ (*sic*) troughes . . . XXS

Item, a sider pound and presse . . . XLS.

Item, twoe paire of iron bound wheelles, with twoe
iron waine axes with the butts . . . XIII.

Item, foure harrowes with tines,² twoe ploughes
with ploughstaffes and all iron worke there
unto belonginge as spooks, hatchets, axe,
pick axes and shovells . . . VI.

Summa XXVIII^l. VS. IIII^d.

Item, one barr of ironn IIIS.

Item, fortie-eight deale boardes . . . LS.

Item, twoe timber trees lyeinge without the wall
at Porteliott XLS.

Item, twoe windinge sheetes, tenn sacks, one
pecke, one seedlipp ³ and sixe sives . . . XXIIIS.

Item, more stones lieinge in the yard at Porteliott
and without the gate VIS. VIII^d.

Item, foure ladders XS.

¹ Doubtless should be storeinge or stoneing.

² s. "each of a series of projecting sharp points on some weapon or implement, as a harrow"—*Ibid*.

³ "A basket in which seed is carried in the process of sowing by hand,"—*Ibid*.

14 INVENTORY OF SIR JOHN ELIOT

Item, a boate with oares, a dredge and dredge
roape, and eight powells¹ . . .

IIIS. XIIIIS

Summa,² IXl. XVIIIIS. VIIId.

Summa³ totalis hujus In(venta)rii, MXXXVII. XVIIIS. VIIId.

Exhibitum erat huiusmodi Inventarium ultimo die mensis Novembris

Anno Domini 1639 per magistrum Wilhelmum Yeo.⁴

¹ Perhaps tholes or rowlocks.—*N E D*

² This total is incorrect. It should be 10*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

³ The grand total of all the totals in the text is incorrect. It should be 1,055*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* The grand total of all the corrected totals is 976*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* See p. vi above for still another total which is 960*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

⁴ The usual official notarial certificate of John Abbott, the registrar, is appended to the inventory, but it is now almost illegible.

INDEX

A

Abbott, John, 14 n.

C

Chancery, Court of, surt in, vi.
— records of, vi n.
Copleston, Mr., 5, 6, 12.
Cuttenebeake (Cuddenbeck),
manor of, v, vii, viii, 1-10.

D

Dix, Mr., Minister of St. Germans, 5.

E

Eliot, Sir John, case of, v-viii.
— son of, vi-viii.
— estate of, contested, vi-viii.
— executors of, vi.
— inventory of goods and chattels of, vi, viii, 1-14.
— death of, vii.
Eliot, Sir Montague, v.

H

Hill, Maurice, vi.

I

Inventory of goods and chattels at Cuttenebeake and Port Eliot, v, vi, viii, 1-14

L

London, Tower of, v, vii.

M

Morris, G. J., cited, vii n.

N

Norton, Sir Daniel, vi, vii, viii.
— Dame Honora, wife of, vii.
— Honora, daughter of, vi, vii

P

Port Eliot, manor of, vi, vii, viii, 10-13
— muniments of, v, vii, viii.
Probate records, ii, vi, viii, 1, 14.

R

"Ravishment of Ward," case of, vii, viii

S

St. Germans (Cornwall), v, vii.
— parish of, 5
— — minister of, 5.

W

Wards, Court of, vii, viii.

Y

Yeo, William, 14.